

TOP STORY: YOUNG AND INNOCENT ON DEATH ROW

April 4-17, 1994

In THESE TIMES

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**HILLARY CLINTON AND THE WHITEWATER
SCANDAL THAT WASN'T** JOEL BLEIFUSS, PAGE 13

EDITORIAL

IN HAITI, CLINTON LICENSES TERROR

Nothing more clearly exposes the consistency of American policy toward the Third World than Bill Clinton's abandonment of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—and democracy—in Haiti. Just as President Reagan embraced the death squads of El Salvador—and transformed them into the now-respectable conservative ARENA party—Clinton is now helping the American-trained-and-installed butchers in Haiti to remain in power. Under the guise of creating a “moderate” government, the administration seems intent on keeping Aristide from regaining the presidency, and on legitimizing Haiti's ruling class and its army.

Clinton still piously insists that he is committed to the return of the democratically elected Aristide, ousted in a September 1991 military coup. But Clinton's actions betray both his words and the Haitian people. In Haiti, as at home, Clinton's loyalty is to his corporate sponsors, not to the people. Thus, despite the administration's public policy of isolating Haiti, the Treasury Department this year renewed a Bush administration loophole that allows U.S. firms to remain in operation in Haiti. Some 50 *maquiladora*-style assembly plants continue to operate in defiance of the U.N.-imposed international embargo. As a result, exports from Haiti to the United States have increased by 50 percent in the last year, Ken Silverstein reports in *Counterpunch*.

Even more outrageous, Silverstein reveals, the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control has granted additional special licenses to an unknown number of new U.S.-owned firms in Haiti.

While offering verbal support for Aristide, the administration has quietly been supporting Haiti's ruling class.

Emboldened by this clear tilt away from Aristide, the Haitian military and its civilian sponsors have launched a new reign of terror in both Haiti and Miami. In Haiti, they have massacred more than 70 Aristide supporters in the past two months. In Miami, hit men shot three leaders of the anti-military group *Veye Yo* (Creole for “beware of them”) in mid-March, killing one and wounding the other two.

The killings in Haiti have been typically brutal and grisly. Several dismembered corpses have been left in the streets of Cite Soleil, whose 200,000 inhabitants are heavily pro-Aristide. Those who remove or grieve openly over any of the dead are said to become tar-

gets of future assassinations. The body of Daddy Pierre, a well-known Aristide partisan, was found without a face. “He was faceless and his head was sliced open with a machete,” a U.N. spokesman, Eric Falt, said.

As in many other policy areas so in Haiti, the administration has said one thing and done another: while offering rhetorical support for the people, it has avoided action that might challenge the powers that be. But the longer this has gone on, the more intolerable it has become. As the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) told Clinton on March 21, “While the administration makes public pronouncements regarding our commitment to restore democracy in Haiti, there is a growing perception throughout the world that the United States is actually doing all in its power to prevent this.”

The CBC urged Clinton to sever all air links with Haiti, to deny all visas to the Haitian military and to impose sanctions against any country that violates the trade embargo.

Meanwhile, a group of Clinton's Hollywood supporters, including Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward, Julia Roberts, Spike Lee, Robert DeNiro, Robin Williams, Gregory Peck and Jason Robards, has begun an advertising campaign suggesting that the administration's policy toward Haitian refugees is racist. The ad is also signed by members of Congress, union leaders and heads of Jewish organizations.

Race is certainly a factor in the callous disregard for the safety of Haitian refugees, just as race was a factor in the Reagan administration's disregard for the lives of the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala—and, for that matter, in the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations' disregard for the lives and well-being of the people of Indochina. But the overarching issue is the administration's subservience to corporate power and corporate profits. That, of course, also has a racial dimension at home, most obviously in the government's emphasis on military spending over investment in rebuilding inner cities. But in Haiti both sides are black. The issue there is clearly class, not race. ◀

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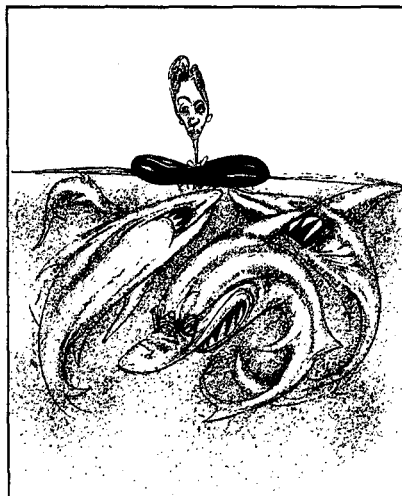


InTHESETIMES

CONTENTS

Volume 18, Number 10

COVER ILLUSTRATION ©1994 STEVE BRODNER



Feeding Frenzy

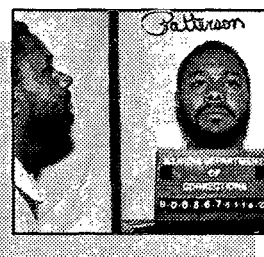
*Hillary Clinton and the
Whitewater scandal that wasn't*
JOEL BLEIFUSS

13

Trial and Error

Part One: Aaron Patterson's bum rap
J.W. Mason...16

Part Two: Pride, prejudice and Rolando Cruz
Salim Muwakkil...20



FEATURES

- The GATT's out of the bag • John B. Judis.....22
 A fight for the soul of the Teamsters • David Moberg..... 24
 A superpower solution in Bosnia • Paul Hockenos.....26
 Viewpoint: Saving Somalia • Carl M. Peterson and Daniel T. Barkley.....28
 Dialogue: John Judis' Japanophobia • Edward S. Herman.....30

REVIEWS

- Film: *The Scent of Green Papaya* • Pat Dowell.....31
 Books: Weekend warriors • David Futrelle.....33
 Uncovering the silent depression • David Evans.....35

DEPARTMENTS

- Letters4
 Sylvia • Nicole Hollander4
 In Short6
 Appall-O-Meter • Woody Igou6
 Media Beat • Pat Aufderheide8
 Rough Cuts • J.A. Reid9
 In Person • Adam Hochschild.....10
 Huge Mouth • Peter Hannan15
 Classifieds37

LETTERS

Sexual roles

I think that several authors in your "special issue" on pornography (*ITT*, March 7) misrepresented the views of Catharine MacKinnon.

Leanne Katz misrepresents MacKinnon's campaign as being "pro-censorship." This sounds like a campaign to make the selling of "obscene" or "offensive" material a criminal offense, but that is not what MacKinnon is trying to do. MacKinnon is in favor of enacting civil, not criminal, legislation that will allow a woman who believes she has been harmed by pornography to sue those responsible for damages and will allow her to do so in a courtroom where she is free from discrimination. Katz's view suggests that we should object to MacKinnon by arguing that "obscenity" causes no real harm, but this is to miss the

main point. MacKinnon's point is that "[d]epictions of subordination tend to perpetuate subordination [that] in turn leads to affront and lower pay at work, insult and injury at home, battery and rape on the streets," a point accepted even by the court that ruled that her legislation was unconstitutional. The real problem for MacKinnon is not censorship but whether pornography depicts subordination, and if so, whether this plays an important role in social, political, economic and legal discrimination against women.

David Futrelle attributes to MacKinnon the view that "all pornographic sex (and perhaps most heterosexual intercourse) is somehow forced upon always unwilling, and always female, victims, for the benefit of sadistic (and always male) victimizers." Related to this is Susie Bright's claim that MacKinnon is a sexual prude. Yet

both critics are missing the main point. MacKinnon does not make exaggerated claims about what every woman or man wants or does, nor is she interested in making religious, psychological or moral claims about sexual desire. Her primary interest is to explain how our culture in general and pornography in particular define masculinity and femininity. Then she argues that these definitions help to create legal and political discrimination against women. Her "prudishness" amounts to no more than the view that a woman is not truly sexually free if she is free only to say "yes" to sex. If in courts of law women are believed only when they say "yes" to sex and not when they say "no" to sex, then our legal system includes a fundamental inequality that must be corrected. This should cause us to focus more clearly than Bright and Futrelle do on how pornography helps to define sexual roles, and how these definitions influence legal and political equality of the sexes.

Don Adams
Philosophy Department
Harvard University

Respect, please

Another article trashing Catharine MacKinnon? I have no problem with Susie Bright disagreeing with MacKinnon's ideas, but her sarcasm and belittlement is not fair or helpful in light of the seriousness of the issues.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



As a father of an eight-year-old daughter, I don't understand the need to defend violent pornography where criminal acts—rape, assault, etc.—are committed against women for commercial, pornographic purposes. Here I agree with Harvard's First Amendment professor Fred Schauer, who argues that violent pornography is more a kind of "conduct" than speech. It undermines rather than upholds the First Amendment to call it speech worth protecting.

I worry about the Christian right and Jesse Helms. But I worry, too, about society and about my daughter. Democracy and freedom are a balancing act. I am far more concerned about the possible consequences of the display of violent—essentially criminal—acts against women in commercial pornography. (I'm much less concerned about non-violent pornography where commercial profit is not the first motive.) I fear for my daughter. I care about her right to be free from the fear and reality of assault and rape.

We may not want to apply our criminal laws literally to criminality depicted in pornography; however, we should at least understand that acts and images are connected. As humans, we have a high capacity for learning. Images are not the only way we learn, but certainly they are one way. Bright and others seem to reduce the issue to censorship. As David McCabe suggests, that isn't the only issue. Somewhere we have to talk about competing freedoms and making difficult choices. This discussion should be informed by broader and more balanced attention to what kind of society we want for ourselves and our daughters and sons. MacKinnon and Dworkin's ideas may be controversial, but they further the debate and are well worth giving due respect and positive consideration.

George Pillsbury
Cambridge, Mass.

Sadistic?

David Futrelle's article "Shameful

pleasures," (*ITT*, March 7) which purported to be an equitable discussion of the incendiary topic of pornography, was little more than a thinly disguised apologia for the continued degradation of women and children through imagery. I'd like to see an article in which the writer admits at the outset what cultural critics like Andrea Dworkin already know and even my teenage sons will admit—that at some level the male enjoys hurting the female. Only at that level of honesty will genuine discussion be possible. Until then, please save paper by not printing any more of this junk.

Melinda Cornwell
Merced, Calif.

Kudos

As a longtime subscriber, I know many readers' letters are heavy on the analysis of *ITT* stories. I just want to say how much I enjoy Mike Males' articles. His piece in your violent crime issue (see *ITT*, Dec. 27) is outstanding. Great work, Mike!

Bruce Thomas
St. Peters, Mo.

Not funny

I am curious. Why does Will Nixon (*ITT*, Feb. 7) in his little piece "De-iced" find it necessary to trash Nancy Kerrigan, her face, arms and blind mother; Tonya Harding's hair and dysfunctional family; figure skating in general; and, in particular, women's figure skating? And from where comes his notion (no, his friend's notion) that "figure skating is essentially a woman's sport"? It's hard to tell if he has an axe to grind with women, men, figure skaters or just anybody who crosses his mind as he reflects upon the absurdities of the national media. It helps him miss the point. By the way, what *is* the point?

And one more question: Does Nixon really believe that bashing someone on the leg outside competition, with the intention of crippling, is the same thing as what goes on during the battles of hockey games—expect-

ed, even required, by bloodthirsty fans? Hardly. Nixon's attempt to be caustic (don't tell me profound) ends up being merely, well, trivial.

Mary M. Johnston
Belfast, Maine

Actions and words

Your profile of Laura Westra (*ITT*, Feb. 21) was pointless. Any woman who claims that saving the Earth "must be more than rhetoric ... it must be a lived reality" and continues to eat meat and drive a car is a false prophet and a hypocrite. Please feature a true environmentalist next time.

And to Westra, I say, what you are doing speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you are saying. I have done as much good for the environment by being vegan and not owning an automobile as I have in my years working professionally in the environmental field. Actions speak louder than words.

Christopher Middings
Alexandria, Va.

Ethical beliefs

Because Laura Westra is a "meat eater and car driver," you tell us, she's "not the stereotypical fanatic so often associated with the environment-first philosophy." How dare you mock those who practice their ethical beliefs. I subscribe to *ITT* because I believe in trying for a better world. In practicing what I—and you—preach. Rather than having excuses made for me, not by *Time* or the *Wall Street Journal* but by "the alternative newsmagazine." Do you edit this thing?

Julie Lewin
West Hartford, Conn.

Cannibal rights?

The profile of Laura Westra fails to explain how the Canadian philosopher can be both an environmental ethicist and a carnivore. The two are as compatible as human rights and cannibalism.

Steven G. Kellman
San Antonio, Texas

InSHORT



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CRIMINALIZING HOMELESSNESS

A man on the New York subway says he's hungry and homeless and if anyone would like to give he'd accept, but he's not asking because that's illegal. When he gets some change, he says thank you but remember, he didn't ask, and he's serious because some of his friends have already been arrested.

In many cities these days, those who panhandle must do so with caution. After a Manhattan Transit Authority survey found 87 percent of its passen-



By Woody Igou

Meat as panacea

Argentine President Carlos Menem is urging Argentians to return to their traditional diet of red meat. Menem, who



underwent surgery late last year for a circulatory problem, said, "I get my energy from eat-

ing meat, and I will continue to eat meat." Argentine ranchers have gone as far as financing a study to try to prove that Argentine meat does *not* cause cholesterol buildup. *Sounds like they're drifting down the old Tobacco Road.*

Radical meek

In his acceptance speech at the Grammy Awards, U-2 lead



singer Bono "shocked" a TV audience with this remark: "We will continue to abuse our posi-

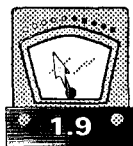
tions and fuck up the mainstream."

Sorry, Lenny Bruce covered the potty mouth stuff 30 years ago.

Sex please, we're British

A series of sex scandals has rocked Britain's Conservative Party. Chief of the defense staff, Sir Peter Harding, recently resigned after tabloids published love letters to his mis-

gross. Two government ministers recently resigned for similar reasons. In February, a

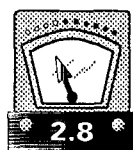


leading Tory legislator was found dead wearing women's underclothes.

Is this the pernicious influence of Benny Hill reruns?

Do as I say ...

Celebrity nutritionist and author Dr. Stuart Berger died recently. Berger, author of the *Southampton Diet* and the *Immune Power Diet*, claimed his



treatment could cure cancer, arthritis and high blood pressure. At the time he died in

his sleep at the age of 40, he weighed 365 pounds.

...not as I do.

Strange standards

Since its release, *Schindler's List* has shocked moviegoers with its depiction of the Holocaust. In the Philippines, official censors objected to the sex in the movie and asked to cut 30 seconds from the



film showing a love scene ("all that pumping and pumping").

A censor also cited three examples of "double breast exposure," noting that exposure of only one breast is acceptable.

Funny little Catholic country, that.

APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Vapid Cultural Zephyrs
2. E Channel Stupid
3. Unauthorized Biography Zone
4. Republican Convention Rerun
5. Bob Dole Spleenic
6. Mega-Dittos from Hell
7. NRA Heart and Brains
8. Pyongyang on my mind
9. Disavowed by Bosnian Serbs
10. Hurry, Melt the Polar Cap!

gers fearful of panhandlers on trains, transit police were ordered to arrest or fine "predicate and persistent" panhandlers. Repeat offenders face \$50 fines (panhandled, of course) or up to 10 days in jail.

Under San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan's Matrix program, more than 2,000 people have been arrested for sleeping in parks, blocking sidewalks and panhandling aggressively. The "bloody legislation against vagabondage" that Karl Marx spoke of in *Capital* has come to America, as cities from Seattle to Washington, D.C., are cracking down on homeless people.

Cities are increasingly enacting and enforcing anti-vagrancy and anti-panhandling statutes. According to Michael Stoops of the National Coalition for the Homeless, at least 50 cities have passed various forms of anti-panhandling legislation in recent years.

Civil libertarians have been fighting panhandling bans on the grounds that such laws violate freedom of speech. As a consequence, cities have learned to cloak their legislation in terms of public safety, targeting "aggressive" panhandling, characterized by physical contact or "in your face" behavior. But civil libertarians point out that since physical contact constitutes assault and "in your face" behavior is harassment, these offenses are already prohibited by existing laws. Thus, say the civil libertarians, the anti-panhandling laws represent a clear bias against poor people.

For some cities, criminalizing poverty is not enough. New York has launched ad campaigns that portray the housed, clad and fed citizens whom panhandlers ask for help as victims who have every right to be selfish and annoyed. Homeless people, meanwhile, are asked to give up their rights to public areas and to take their problems to a non-existent elsewhere.

—Katherine Gordy

CALIFORNIA'S SINGLE-PAYER INITIATIVE

As President Clinton and Congress begin hashing out the details of health care reform at the federal level, signature-gathering is speeding ahead in California for a single-payer ballot initiative that may help to transform the national debate.

Sponsored by Neighbor to Neighbor, a nationwide grass-roots group that focuses on economic justice issues, the proposal would set up a non-profit public health insurance fund that would replace private health insurers. As with Canada's single-payer system, doctors and hospitals would remain private and consumers would have the right to choose their own medical providers.

The system would be financed through a combination of existing public health care funds such as Medicare and Medi-Cal and new taxes that would effectively replace the insurance premiums Californians and their employers now pay. The proposal calls for a payroll tax on business ranging from 4.4 percent to 8.9 percent, depending on the number of employees, and a 2.5 percent income tax plus a surtax on families earning \$500,000 per year or more.

There would be no deductibles or copayments.

Neighbor to Neighbor Executive Director Glen Schneider is optimistic about prospects for getting the proposal onto the November ballot. He told *In These Times* that as of March 17, the drive was halfway toward its goal of 1 million signatures, which must be turned in by April 22. Even more importantly, he noted, the pace of signature-gathering is accelerating.

Schneider is confident that the single-payer proposal will qualify for the California ballot—and, if it does, that it will have a dramatic effect on the national debate. “It will immediately put enormous pressure on Congress to retain the single-payer option” for states that want it, he said, something that seems far from assured at the moment.

“Single-payer is not getting much press coverage now because people think it’s not politically viable,” he suggested. “This will refocus the whole national debate. We will make single-payer a household word.”

Not everyone is as certain as Schneider. Maria Ferrer, executive director of Health Access, a coalition of California health, labor and community groups that has been advocating health care reform for seven years, says her group supports the initiative, but “we also recognize that there is legislation that is going to go through Congress which is not single-payer.” While Health Access continues to strongly support single-payer, it is putting most of its effort into lobbying for improvements in the plans under consideration by Congress and in whatever implementing legislation is needed on the state level.

Schneider, who is also active in Health Access, sees the efforts as complementary rather than conflicting, as “two sides of the same coin.” Congress, he added, “will pass something, but God knows what” unless the voters show them the way.

Can Neighbor to Neighbor’s initiative pass in the face of what is sure to be a well-financed insurance industry campaign against it? Schneider thinks it can. “The insurance industry spent \$70 million trying to kill Proposition 103,” the auto insurance rate rollback passed by voters in 1988, he noted, but failed. “California voters have shown they’re willing to go against entrenched interests. We think they’ll do it again.”

—Bruce Mirken

TAKING THE FUEL OUT OF BURMESE REPRESSION

The international campaign against the Burmese military junta scored a victory in early March when Amoco announced it would withdraw from that Southeast Asian country. Now pressure for corporate pull-outs shifts to Texaco, Unocal and other oil companies, as well as Pepsi.

SLORC, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, which has ruled Burma since 1988, refused to recognize the 1990 election victory of the National League for Democracy and has held the league’s leader, Nobel Peace Prize recipient Aung San Suu Kyi, under house arrest since 1989. SLORC, which renamed the country Myanmar, is widely regarded as one of the world’s most politically repressive regimes.

A loose coalition of religious groups, human rights advocates, labor organizations and corporate watchdogs has been working to sever the ties

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Sounds familiar

Radio listeners and TV viewers in Spokane, Wash., might have thought more stations would mean more programming diversity. If so, they were wrong. The newest cable channel, KXLY extra!, will recycle information and programs from a local TV station, as well as from an FM and AM radio station—all owned by the same company. The channel will also carry some syndicated programming, such as *Golden Girls*, and talk shows.

The new channel is an early and unpromising result of 1992 cable legislation. That law required cable operators to compensate broadcasters for their programming.

Many broadcasters arranged in-kind deals to program cable channels, once cablers balked at paying cash. But if KXLY extra! is any guide, the new territory carved out will be in the low-low-rent district.

Boo hoo

Cable TV operators are using the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for target practice, after getting the news that cable rates must be lowered another 7 percent in order to comply with the 1992 cable law. When the FCC had first ordered cablers to lower rates as part of that law, operators cleverly jiggered the payment schedules so that only two-thirds of basic cable customers received rate relief.

Now Bell Atlantic and TCI are blaming the FCC for ruining

their megamerger. But the Bell Atlantic-TCI merger—a public-interest nightmare—was heading for trouble long before the 7 percent solution was announced. The breakup actually opens the door for many more deals, so insiders are keeping a close eye on the past master of the deal, TCI's John Malone.

It's still entirely unclear what kind of information network will emerge, without serious government investment. Vice President Al Gore has called for hospitals, schools, inner cities and rural areas to be hooked up to the "national information infrastructure" by the year 2000. But he has also called on the states to make sure it happens, and on corporations to find the profitable enterprises to justify creating the system.

And by the way...

The latest issue of the Canadian media journal *Adbusters* is full of tips to make megamedia honchos miserable. It pokes fun at ad narcissism with its parody, "Obsessed," for Calvin Swine.

It plugs Unplug (202-234-0041), an organization opposing the commercial-ridden in-school TV news service Channel One. And it provides cut-out glasses to fool teachers into thinking you're watching if you're stuck with the service. Sometimes *Adbusters'* attitude is cute and cloying, but it's always worth a look. For more information, contact The Media Foundation, 1243 W. 7th Ave., Vancouver, Canada V6H 1B7, 604-736-9401.

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Burma has with the few multinational corporations that operate there.

Earlier this year, the groups introduced a stockholder resolution calling for Amoco to pull out of Burma. The company has spent \$115 million, including \$22 million in critical hard currency payments to SLORC or businesses it controls, exploring for oil in Burma. "Basically, big oil is propping up this regime," argued Simon Billenness, a senior analyst for Franklin Research and Development Corp., a socially responsible investment firm. Amoco successfully persuaded the Securities and Exchange Commission that it should be able to omit the shareholder resolution, but the coalition appealed the decision. Meanwhile, the Chicago Coalition for a Democratic Burma was stepping up its leafletting and initiating a boycott.

Although an Amoco official six months ago described Burma as one of "the world's most promising prospects" for oil, in early March Amoco announced it was stopping its work for economic reasons. "I clearly feel the growing boycott and escalating legal arguments really were considerations in Amoco's decision," Billenness stated.

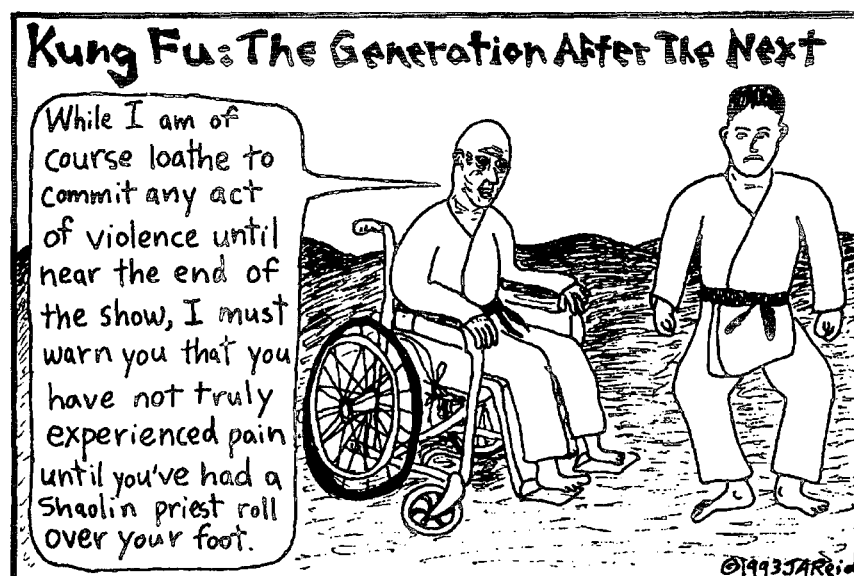
Unlike Amoco, two oil company offshore ventures (one involving Total and Unocal, the other involving Texaco, Premier Petroleum and Nippon Oil) have found oil and are planning or beginning to build pipelines. Construction of those pipelines not only threatens an important rainforest area but also provides SLORC an excuse to clear villages from an area of ethnic political resistance. Texaco is already under attack for its oil operations in Ecuador, which have destroyed much of the Amazonian basin environment there and greatly endangered the health of local residents, according to a study released this month.

In addition to pursuing shareholder protests, the coalition is urging a boycott of Texaco and congressional passage of legislation mandating corporate withdrawal from Burma. "This is SLORC's lifeline," Billenness argued. "You cut this and they're forced to come to the table" to negotiate with democratic opponents.

—David Moberg

ROUGH CUTS

By JA Reid



I N P E R S O N

SON OF THE REVOLUTION

By Adam Hochschild

Few social worlds have been so deliberately erased from memory as that of the makers of the Russian Revolution. A lucky few succumbed to natural causes; most got a bullet in the back of the skull from Stalin's secret police. Theirs is a political and social universe to which we have almost no personal links today, for Stalin wiped out most of their families as well. But this is the story of a man who is one such link, living quietly in a grimy apartment building in the middle of Siberia.

When the Bolsheviks took power, the new Soviet Union's first official head of state was Lev Kamenev. Photos show him as very much the dignified, serious intellectual, in a mustache and beard. Before the Revolution, he and Joseph Stalin were exiled to the same remote Siberian village.

In 1917, when Kamenev and Stalin heard that the Tsar had been toppled from his throne, they set off together from their village of exile for the long train journey to Petrograd. Both were present at the secret 10-hour meeting in a Petrograd apartment to plan the Bolshevik seizure of power of October 1917. Before the gathering broke up at 3 a.m., both were elected members of the Party's innermost circle, the seven-man Politburo.

Immediately after the Bolshevik coup, it was Kamenev who announced to the world the members of the new government. He remained on the top rungs of Soviet power for the next seven or eight years. An able conciliator, he was always the person called on to mend rifts in the Party, or to negotiate with other groups.

One colleague wrote that Kamenev's attitude toward his political enemies "was so gentle that it seemed as though he himself were ashamed of the irreconcilableness of his position." Kamenev believed the Bolsheviks should form a coalition government with the other left-wing parties—a major heresy, for it would have meant, in effect, majority rule.

But in this, as in many other things, he first lost out, then bent to the Party line. Like too many Old Bolsheviks, Kamenev shared the near-mystical belief that the Party was the sole embodiment of correct thinking, and in the end he always came back to the Party line.

In 1936, Kamenev was charged with being part of a vast conspiracy to assassinate a whole string of top Soviet figures. This was the first big show trial of

Stalin's Great Purge, the paranoid wave of mass arrests that sent nearly 20 million people to the execution cellars or the gulag. After his trial, Kamenev was immediately shot. In the following months the secret police seized almost everyone named Kamenev whom they could find. And, most people long believed, they killed Lev Kamenev's entire extended family. According to Dmitri Volkogonov's authoritative recent biography of Stalin, based on previously closed Soviet archives, "Kamenev's wife, his two sons (one of them still a minor), his brother and his brother's wife, all perished."

But Volkogonov is wrong. Kamenev's younger son survived. He fooled the historians—and, during the most dangerous years, the secret police—by changing his name. Except for Stalin's troubled daughter, Svetlana, he is the only surviving child of any member of the small circle of men who gathered in that Petrograd apartment in 1917 to plan the Bolshevik seizure of power.

What sort of person would he be? Kamenev's son was seven years old when his father was shot. One of the few things I had heard about Vladimir Glebov—he uses his mother's last name—was that he was a teacher of philosophy, which throughout Soviet rule generally meant Party-line Marxism-Leninism. I expected to find some present-day version of an austere, stern, rigid revolu-



tionary, denying any version of reality save his own.

April 1991. In the courtyard of a battered, gray apartment building in the city of Novosibirsk, the last of the winter's snow is melting into mud. The apartment I'm looking for is on the fifth floor. The slight, lithe man who opens the door is in his early 60s. His top half looks remarkably like Lenin: goatee, mustache, a balding skull, a shirt and necktie. But from the waist down, everything is distinctly un-Leninist: Vladimir Glebov is wearing Bermuda shorts, bright blue slippers with red trim, and no socks. And he is laughing—an infectious, welcoming gale of laughter.

His apartment is shared by a friendly cat and, packed onto shelves and in huge piles on the floor, what looks like about ten thousand books. Most unexpected of all, one heap of books is all by, or about, Emily Dickinson.

He just moved into this apartment several days ago, he says, and is still building bookshelves. Thanks to time he spent in Stalin's prison camps, he knows carpentry, "so if they retire me from teaching, I'll have a trade." Like many Russian intellectuals, Glebov reads English fluently, but seems unwilling to speak it, having had few chances to practice.

Although he teaches philosophy, Glebov says his real academic love is Slavic history and culture. His specialty is 19th-century Serbia. Why? When he was a university student in Stalin's last years, the slightest departure from orthodoxy could be fatal. "Our shrewd professor told us an aphorism: here in Russia, a self-respecting historian must study something not closer than a hundred years to the time of his birth, and not closer than a thousand kilometers to Moscow. Only then can you be an honest historian!"

He erupts in another contagious burst of laughter. Something seems almost cat-like about his movements as he hops nimbly around the apartment, fetching tea, books and knick-knacks.

"I was born in 1929, between two periods of exile of my parents. My father was jailed three times under the Tsar and three times under Stalin. My mother was in jail once under the Tsar and later three times under Stalin.

"Not long ago, our KGB gave me a call. They said, 'Vladimir Lvovich! We've been sorting through old archives, and came across copies of letters between your mother in exile and your father in prison. Do you want them?' Those letters were written in 1935, and they called me at the end of 1989. At that moment, I realized that such an organization can actually be useful! How otherwise would those letters from half a century ago have been preserved?"

Soon after Kamenev's execution in 1936 his wife, Glebov's mother, was arrested and shot, "and then my own adventures began." For nine years he was in orphanages. The first was in the subarctic timber country of western Siberia, "the same latitude as your Alaska." Just getting there required a long trip by river barge, then two weeks' trek through the forest, in a horse-drawn cart. About 40 percent of the orphanage children were, like Glebov, off-

spring of "enemies of the people." Another 20 percent were Gypsies: "A year before, they had arrested an entire Gypsy tribe for being nomadic. They were brought to the forest in October. When the adults were frozen to death, the kids were sent to the orphanage. Another 40 percent were juvenile delinquents."

Where along the line did he change his name?

"Another Russian joke! I don't know whether the people who did it were saving their own lives, wanting not to attract the attention of the police, or whether they were saving me. Some supervisor at the orphanage did it. I came there as Kamenev. About a year later I was summoned and they informed me, 'You're going to be Kamenev-Glebov.' Another year passed and I became Glebov."

In 1945, the 16-year-old Glebov was allowed to go to Leningrad to study. The authorities by then realized who he was; times were still grim but the murderous mass purges of the late '30s were over. A secret police officer at the university called him in and gave him some advice: "You can study only because we've forgotten about you. Don't remind anybody of your existence."

Glebov tried his best to keep a low profile, sticking to the 19th-century Balkans, suspecting that his luck would not last. It didn't. "I shared a dormitory room with an informer. We were three young men and he was the fourth. One day: 'Knock-knock!' The superintendent came in, and three guys in plainclothes. I thought, 'This is the fourth year I've been waiting for you fellows to come!'"

*Vladimir Glebov
is the ultimate
survivor of
Stalinsim.*

"They said, 'Pack up! Your studies are over.' I knew that as long as Stalin was alive, I was supposed to be in jail. I knew that sooner or later they'd remember me."

At his interrogation, Glebov did not try to maintain his innocence, he says; he just told the interrogator, "Listen, captain. I'll be in jail as long as *he* is alive. But I'm 20, and *he* is 70 . . ."

There remained the question of exactly what Glebov was to be accused of, since his real crime was being the son of one of Stalin's long-dead rivals. He was finally found guilty of being an "aesthete."

Another burst of infectious laughter: "You know, I'm probably the only person in the world with a certificate, validated with an official stamp, that I'm an aesthete. Oscar Wilde didn't have it! Thoreau didn't have it! But I have this indictment which reads, 'aesthetic approach to literature.' As a student, I had said that I could not stand Mayakovsky [an officially approved poet]; I loved Blok, Marlowe, Emily Dickinson. So they found somebody who testified that I'd said all this." Another witness testified that Glebov had also once called Stalin a dictator.

He was sentenced to 10 years. "For slander of the leader of the world's proletariat and for an aesthetic approach to literature—only 10 years! I was sent to work on the Volga-Don Canal. I worked in a sawmill. In Nizhni Novgorod, I spent some 14 months in a prison built in Catherine the Great's time." Finally, in 1956, three years after Stalin's death and after Glebov had been in prison for nearly seven, Khrushchev began releasing millions of prisoners from the gulag.

Glebov was released, and finished his studies. When he graduated, he went to teach in Siberia. "My favorite place! I had spent the better part of my life here. It was familiar. If a new barbed-wire-and-dogs campaign were to be launched, we would be the last to be arrested. Why should I be arrested if I were *already* in Siberia? So I volunteered to come here."

Today Glebov teaches philosophy at the Electro-Technical Institute of Novosibirsk. "Marx, Engels, Lenin are just an episode! The course encompasses 2,500 years of European philosophy, 3,000 years of Chinese, and God knows how many years of Indian, if we count from the time of the Upanishads." He managed the freedom to do this, he says, because the ideological authorities paid little attention to an institute that was training engineers, and because his department head and dean are former students of his.

His conversation moves agilely from American anti-trust laws to Walter Lippmann on McCarthyism to the psychological similarities between Stalinists and Mormons to Khrushchev, whom he calls the last socialist romantic. "After him came grave worms—those who gorged on the corpse of the murdered country, who did not care whether it was socialism or capitalism, only whether their armchairs were soft."

Glebov still considers himself a Marxist, but of a very independent sort. As I hear him talk, what strikes me most are his nimble, imaginative leaps in time and space. He may never have been able to travel abroad, but in his imagination he has roamed the entire world.

"Our naive professors offer a way out via capitalism. They believe that the moment private property is introduced, we'll have the American standard of living. *Today's* American standard of living. They're idiots! They don't understand that we'll become like England and America of the 19th century. It took you two centuries to reach the modern level. Even in 1932 MacArthur expelled the unemployed from Washington with machine guns. The Great Depression. The Grapes of Wrath. Only in the postwar years did you reach the current level. And now we're rushing headlong toward the 19th century with its poorhouses out of Dickens, its riots by the unemployed and the hungry."

Glebov believes—correctly, I think—that for many top Russian officials, talk of reform and privatization is merely a cover for taking state assets into their own hands. "They are a mafia of ours, from top to bottom. 'You're free to buy

factories!' But who's able to do this? A worker? No. But this manager can."

Glebov has recently taken part in a local campaign to restore to the Russian Orthodox Church a former cathedral that the state had been using as a warehouse for potatoes. An odd cause, one might think, for a Jewish independent Marxist, but one that suggests a largeness of spirit.

Virtually alone of the Russians I met during a six-month stay in the country, Glebov is not afraid to dream in the visionary terms of social transformation that so animated one side of the Russian Revolution's very divided soul. But Glebov's is a gentler, more modest and tolerant vision, not the rigid, one-size-fits-all Utopia of his father's generation. It is exhilarating to hear him talk, a reminder of the idealistic strand of the Utopian impulse, which in Russia was so quickly overwhelmed by a darker, bloodier side.

Glebov's own dream is the one—so easy to imagine, so seldom tried—of finding some way to combine socialism and democracy. He wants a socialism that honors human rights and free speech, and embodies "a clever, flexible use of your experience" in the West.

But, Glebov cautions, he is not messianic about his vision, like the dogmatists of old. "This is for Russia, not for the whole world. And we shouldn't claim that our path is the only one and that those who disagree are swindlers or cosmopolitans or"—he smiles—"aesthetes."

At the end of our long afternoon of talk, we move to the kitchen and share a snack. With a great flourish, Glebov produces a small, whole smoked fish from a cupboard, and deftly bones and slices it with a knife, cheerfully tossing extra bits to the cat.

Only after I've left does it occur to me that Glebov has more reason to be bitter than anyone I have met in Russia: his father shot, his mother shot, his brother shot, a decade in orphanages, and seven years in the gulag—which, now that I think of it, he barely even bothered to talk about. But no one has made me laugh so much in months. Each chortle from this odd-looking figure in his Bermuda shorts and sockless slippers is another sign of his triumph. At every stage, Glebov has parried the system's blows before it could wound him. And his main weapon is laughter. I can still hear the echo of his final joke:

Stalin telephones secret police chief Beria and says, "Lavrenti, help! I've lost my pipe!" Beria says, "Don't worry, Comrade Stalin, I'll get on the case right away!"

The next week the maid is sweeping the floor of Stalin's study, and finds the pipe. Stalin telephones Beria again: "Everything's O.K., Lavrenti. I found the pipe." Beria says, "But Comrade Stalin, I've arrested ten thousand people and charged them with stealing it!"

Stalin says, "Shouldn't we let them go?" Beria says, "But they all confessed!" Stalin says, "Oh. Well, in that case, let's give them all 10 years . . ."

Adapted from Adam Hochschild's *The Unquiet Ghost: Russians Remember Stalin*, published this month by Viking Penguin.

THE FIRST STONE

Much ado

By Joel Bleifuss

What is the Whitewater scandal really about? Like many educated people I've talked to, a friend of mine who's a lawyer is genuinely puzzled. "I've read everything, but I can't make that much out of it," she said. "It is not clear that there is that much there."

There's good reason for my friend's confusion. The press coverage of Whitewater includes speculation about an alleged cover-up, punditry on who is putting what spin on what allegation and ruminations on allegations of skullduggery. Yes, there is evidence that the Clintons may have exercised poor judgment—and that is worthy of journalistic inquiry. But in the voluminous coverage, it is difficult to sort out those aspects of the scandal that directly relate to specific wrongdoing by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Here is a rundown of what is known to have happened.

◦In 1978 the Clintons become partners with friends Jim and Susan McDougal and invested \$69,000 or so in Whitewater Development Corp. This vacation-home venture on the White River in the Ozarks later went broke. There is a dispute over the extent of the Clintons' loss and, consequently, of how much their tax-preparers should have written off in taxes.

◦In 1985 Jim McDougal hired Hillary as his firm's lawyer and put her on a \$2,000 monthly retainer. That same year, a lawyer at Hillary's Rose Law Firm wrote the state's S&L commissioner, Beverly Bassett Schaffer, asking if McDougal's S&L, Madison Guaranty, could legally issue preferred stock in order to raise funds to stay solvent. Like all commissioners in Arkansas, the S&L commissioner was appointed by the governor, in this case Bill Clinton. And the question was not unusual: at the time, the Federal Home Land Bank Board was advising troubled S&Ls to try to recapitalize.

For reasons unknown, Schaffer did not respond directly to the Rose lawyer who had made the inquiry, but to

Hillary Clinton. In a letter addressed "Dear Hillary," Schaffer informed the firm that the issuance of preferred stock by an S&L would be legal, but that any such move must be first approved by the commissioner.

In the end, however, McDougal's thrift neither asked for permission nor issued the stock. Eventually, in 1987, Schaffer asked the federal government to take over the troubled S&L.

◦Also in 1985, McDougal raised \$35,000 to help pay off a \$50,000 debt from Bill Clinton's 1984 gubernatorial campaign. Some evidence indicates that \$12,000 of that \$35,000 may have come from McDougal's S&L. That S&L went bankrupt in 1989, costing taxpayers about \$60 million.

Neither Hillary nor Bill Clinton has been directly accused of committing a crime. There is no evidence that Madison Guaranty ever received special treatment from the state of Arkansas. And there is no evidence that the Clintons knew of McDougal's alleged use of funds from his S&L to contribute to Clinton's campaign.

So what's up? Looking at how this scandal has played out, it is hard to ignore the possibility that the Clintons, particularly Hillary, are being attacked for reasons that have more to do with partisan politics than with supposed Whitewater misdeeds. I am not suggesting an anti-Clinton conspiracy, but rather a convergence of interest on the part of two groups of political players, each with its own reasons for attacking Rodham Clinton.

First, the Republican Party and the dominant organs of what passes for right-wing thought—the *American Spectator*, the *National Review* and *Commentary*—have been priming the Whitewater pump to advance the right's political fortunes. In lieu of a real political agenda, the conservatives are trying to advance their cause through personal attacks on the Clintons.

In January, *American Spectator's* sexual affairs correspondent, David Brock, took up most of the issue covering the who, what, when and where of Bill Clinton's penis. In February editor Emmett Tyrell, after acknowledging "there have been no allegations that any laws were broken," made space in the publication's very next issue for a "catalogue of possible crimes" committed by Bill and Hillary. The article calculated the "total potential criminal liability" of the president and his wife. Bill: 178 years in prison, more than \$2.5 million in fines. Hillary: 47 years in prison, more than \$1.2 million in fines.

But the absurdity of such indictments by the Republican right gives legitimacy to the more measured attacks from the second contingent of critics on the Whitewater bandwagon—the apparatchiks of official Washington, who are turn-

ing on Hillary with a vengeance. As ABC's Brit Hume reported, "There has been a certain frenzied quality which may seem out of proportion when the facts are finally known."

Paul Costello, former Rosalynn Carter spokesman, put it this way in an interview on *Nightline*: "Anyone who breaks the mold, any first lady who really tries to do something different and doesn't apologize about her power, is you know, forced to be stoned in this town. Because, quite frankly, people can't deal with, Washington can't deal with, strong political spouses."

And that's especially true of strong political spouses whose political instincts are thought to violate the capital's conventional wisdom, political spouses whose influence over presidential appointments has meant that some members of Washington's political establishment have not gotten the positions they had hoped for.

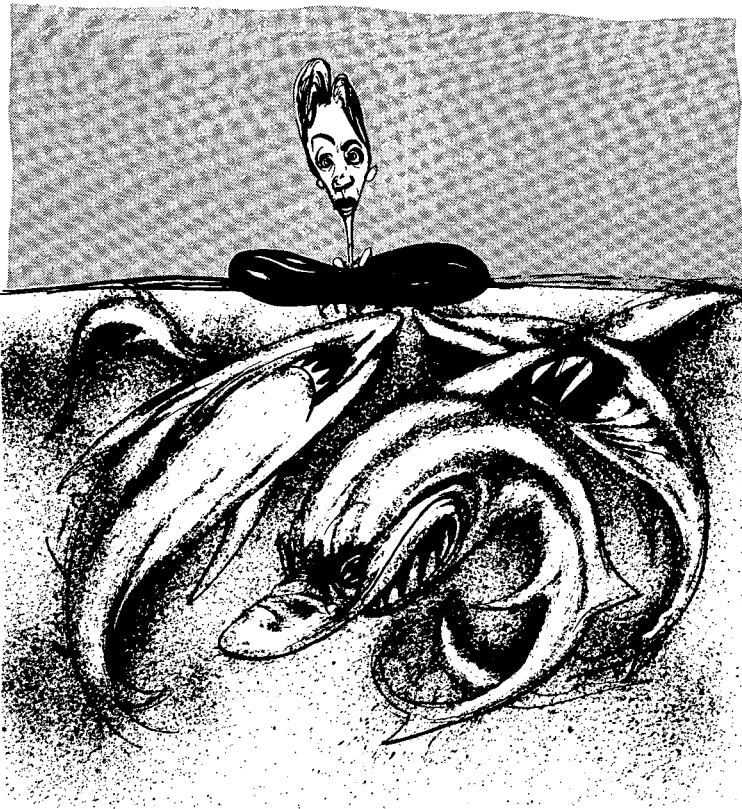
Officials of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), some *New Republic* editors and the tenured pundits of the Reagan-Bush era seem to be using the Whitewater entanglement to undercut Rodham Clinton's political power, and by extension the "politics of empathy," diversity in White House appointments and other wayward heresies that she is said to represent.

The DLC, the organization of conservative Democratic officials, had hoped to reap gold with the election of DLC founding father Bill Clinton. A few DLCers did get named to positions close to power—Al Gore and Mike Espy, in particular. But many in the group blame the president's wife for the positions the DLC didn't get.

"DLC people were always pissed off at Hillary," one Washington insider told me. "The DLC is very much like a Marxist-Leninist sect. They are gut-level factionalists. They have a party line, and they are out for power."

One of the first in line to take a smack at the first lady was *New Republic* senior editor Mickey Kaus. In a Feb. 15, 1993, *New Republic* article, Kaus chronicled his "distress" at seeing "signs of creeping Rodhamism" in the White House. He listed the reasons why the first lady "triggers several sorts of justifiable doubt" among Democrats, by which he appears to mean his ideological compatriots in the DLC.

First, argued Kaus, Rodham Clinton is a "false feminist" because she is not an "independent" woman but instead has "hitched herself firmly to her husband's career and used his



success to promote herself."

Second, Rodham Clinton "can't be fired" from her powerful position as first lady. And Kaus asserted, in effect, that Hillary is blackmailing her husband to advance her liberal agenda: "Hillary presumably knows a lot about what [Bill's extramarital] wrongdoing entailed," Kaus wrote. "Yet she did her part [standing by her man], and saved the election. All this gives her—how to put it delicately—unusual leverage for a presidential adviser, even for a first lady."

Rodham Clinton's third crime is that she is what Kaus termed a "paleoliberal" and not a "new Democrat." Kaus is among that special group of neo-liberal/neo-conservative social theorists obsessed with the idea that society is being ripped off by poor black women—aided and abetted by welfare-state apologists who are FOH, Friends of Hillary.

Kaus wrote that he would feel better if the president were married to "Elaine Karmarck of the Democratic Leadership Council." Karmarck, who shares Kaus' critique of the welfare system, aspired to the position of secretary of Health and Human Services.

The current round of Whitewatergate attacks on Rodham Clinton can be traced to Michael Barone, a *U.S. News and World Report* columnist. Barone devoted a column in early March to a discussion of whether Hillary was a "political liability." He followed that up two weeks later with a discussion of whether Hillary is "a liability to feminism."

According to Barone—who lends his name to *American Spectator* advertisements—Hillary has been riding a wave of good publicity provided by "one of America's most pro-feminist institutions," which, if you weren't aware, is the media. The press, according to Barone, has overlooked her mistakes, which include "wasting 10 months concocting a [health care] plan with no chance of passage."

Barone was particularly chagrined about Rodham Clinton's emphasis on diversity. "There is an opportunity cost to insisting that women and members of minority groups get a high number of jobs," Barone wrote. "Any Washington insider can list a half-dozen top-notch white males who failed to get jobs in which they could have done fine work for the administration."

On March 7, his Hillary criticism was picked up and amplified by *Washington Post* media critic Howard Kurtz. The article was titled, "Hillary to the pillory! Kind words come to an end as media zero in on first lady." Kurtz gave Barone credit with causing "the first major crack in the facade."

Kurtz then cited Maureen Dowd's report in the March 6 *New York Times* that Rodham Clinton is "enmeshed in embarrassing ethical questions." According to Kurtz, Dowd's article was another "leading indicator that [Hillary] Clinton's stock may be falling."

On March 8, ABC's *Nightline* weighed in, devoting a half-hour to a debate about the first lady's scruples—and again Barone was quoted. But the most telling comment came from *Nightline* reporter Chris Bury, who said, "Fairly or not, all this has ignited a front-page debate over Hillary Clinton's ethics." Well, tell us, is it fair or not ... or, are such considerations secondary?

What we have here is one reporter parroting another reporter. Eventually it builds up into a cacophony. Cocking its ear, *Newsweek's* "Conventional Wisdom Watch" came to this assessment: Hillary is on the way down.

Eric Alterman, author of *Sound and Fury: The Washington Punditocracy and the Collapse of American Politics*, has been following the Whitewater coverage and discerns a noticeable bias. "A lot of people hate Hillary in Washington, it is not at all an uncommon view," he told me. "I hear it all the time from the right in both parties. The DLC feels very strongly that Bill would be one of them if it were not for her. And the Republicans see her as an alien."

One can make the case that the press has lost all sense of proportion. Compare Whitewater and Iraqgate. In Iraqgate, more than \$2 billion in federal revenues somehow, somehow went to the Iraqi government via the Atlanta branch of the Italian bank, Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL). Saddam Hussein spent this money to build the arsenal that was later used as the reason the United States needed to go to war in the Gulf. Did that story—an exponentially greater scandal involving a covert foreign policy and the misuse of huge amounts of taxpayers' money—rock the front pages of the nation's press? No.

"The greatest canard is that the Washington press corps is liberal," said Bob Parry author of *Fooling America: How Washington Insiders Twist the Truth and Manufacture the Conventional Wisdom*. "What we are seeing

now is the resonance between the far-right press and the center-right press—a center-right press that will support Clinton as long as he takes the conservative Democratic position. We are also seeing the results of the Washington press corps that developed over the 12 years of the Reagan-Bush administration. The people who played ball moved up."

And though the players have remained the same, the rules of the game now appear to be altered. Take the case of David Hale, the former Arkansas judge, who alleges that in 1986 Clinton pressured him to make a large loan to McDougal. Hale has copped a plea bargain with Whitewater investigator Robert Fiske on one charge of felonious fraud, while pleading guilty to two other fraud charges. Hale has never publicly corroborated any of his allegations—allegations Clinton has described as "a bunch of bull." Yet the press has widely covered Hale's story.

How different it was during the investigations into the October Surprise and Iran-contra when the press ignored allegations made by people of dubious character—even when other corroborating evidence supported these charges—because their statements could be seen as self-serving. Though the times have changed, some things remain disturbingly the same. ◀

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



J U S T I C E

Trial and error

H

A Chicago case points out the inequities of the death penalty.

By J.W. Mason

e says he didn't do it. No physical evidence links him to the crime. The policeman who extracted his confession was dismissed from the force for torturing suspects. The only witness against him now repudiates her testimony. And if the state of Illinois has its way, Aaron Patterson will be put to death in June for the murder of Vincent and Rafaela Sanchez.

Capital punishment is modern America's peculiar institution. Like slavery, which lingered on here for decades after it died out in more civilized countries, it is a signifier of the archaic brutality that remains one of the central features of American life. Over the years, as the evidence demonstrating capital punishment's ineffectiveness as a deterrent has mounted, its defenders have fallen back on a simpler, and essentially

unarguable, justification: The death penalty is a *moral* necessity, a way of reassuring society that a standard of justice still obtains. But what if the law's retribution is itself fundamentally arbitrary and inconsistent, swayed more by considerations of class, race and blind luck than by the culpability of the criminal? What if it snuffs out the guilty *and* the innocent with no more discretion than a hyped-up gangbanger on a drive-by?

The police showed up at the Patterson home in south Chicago one night in April 1986. The Pattersons were used to having police officers at their house: Raymond was a sergeant in the force, and his friends often stopped by after a shift. Tonight, however, the police were looking for Raymond's son Aaron.

"We thought they were there to investigate his background," recalls Joanne Patterson, Aaron's mother, explaining that (despite a string of arrests for fighting, drug possession and attempted murder) her son planned to become a policeman like his father and had passed all the written tests with flying colors. "He really wanted to

make the service his career. He got high scores on the police test. He got into confrontations on the street because he thought of himself as a sort of Robin Hood." But the police already knew all they wanted to know about the young Patterson's background. They were looking for him that night because he was wanted for murder.

A few days earlier, an elderly couple, the Sanchezes, had been stabbed to death during a home invasion. According to court documents, no physical evidence tied Aaron Patterson to the crime; fingerprints found at the scene did not match Patterson's and were never identified. The closest thing to a witness the police came up with was a 13-year-old boy named Wayne Washington who did odd jobs for the couple. He said he had seen two men, DeElwood White and Eric Cain, "across from" the Sanchez residence. White was located and brought into the station house; Cain turned up a little later.

But two days after the crime, police heard from a 16-year-old girl named Marva Hall. She said that Patterson had told her that he had really committed the murders—and that he asked her if she knew anyone who wanted to buy a shotgun or a chainsaw, two of the items taken from the Sanchez house. Shortly afterward, White was released and police began searching for Patterson, starting at his parents' house.

It would take the police over a week to find Patterson. He was already wanted on an unrelated matter—for "beating a boy"—and was on the run from the police, "bouncing all around the city," says his mother. It wasn't until April 30, 11 days after the murder, that he was brought into Area

2 headquarters at 91st and Cottage Grove. In sworn testimony, Patterson described what happened to him next. Court documents summarize:

Around midnight [after several hours of questioning during which Patterson denied any connection to the murders, officer] Plenta allegedly said, "I don't know about the rest of you, but I am tired of listening to this bull____. I am about ready to kick his ass." ... Defendant [Patterson] responded by saying: "No, we don't have to go through that, I just told you I didn't have anything else to say and that I wanted a lawyer." Plenta then left the room. ... When Plenta next entered the room, "he had like a manila folder, and behind the manila folder he had a gray plastic like wrapped like a newspaper more or less." ...

Four additional officers then entered the room and began verbally harassing defendant. ... Plenta then put his hand around defendant's neck and asked whether he would cooperate, slapping defendant across the chest with his hand in a half-fist. The other officers, standing around the room, closed the door and turned off the lights. [Officer] Pederson, who had been sitting behind the desk, reached for the plastic and placed it over defendant's face while the remaining officers hit, kicked, held and restrained defendant. ... The plastic was held over his face for about one minute. ... Plenta threatened more abuse unless defendant cooperated. Defendant again requested to speak with a lawyer, but was told that "you are not getting a m.f. attorney."

The whole routine was repeated again and again until, Patterson says, he finally told the police officers, "O.K., anything you say." Overseeing the whole process was a "red-haired officer." After several rounds of suffocation and beating, "the red-haired officer ... threatened defendant by telling him that unless he cooperated he would be subject to greater abuse. The officer then laid his gun on the table and continued to tell defendant that he was going to cooperate. ... The officer also told defendant that 'It is your word against our word. And who are they going to believe, you or me?' Defendant asked to make a phone call and asked for a

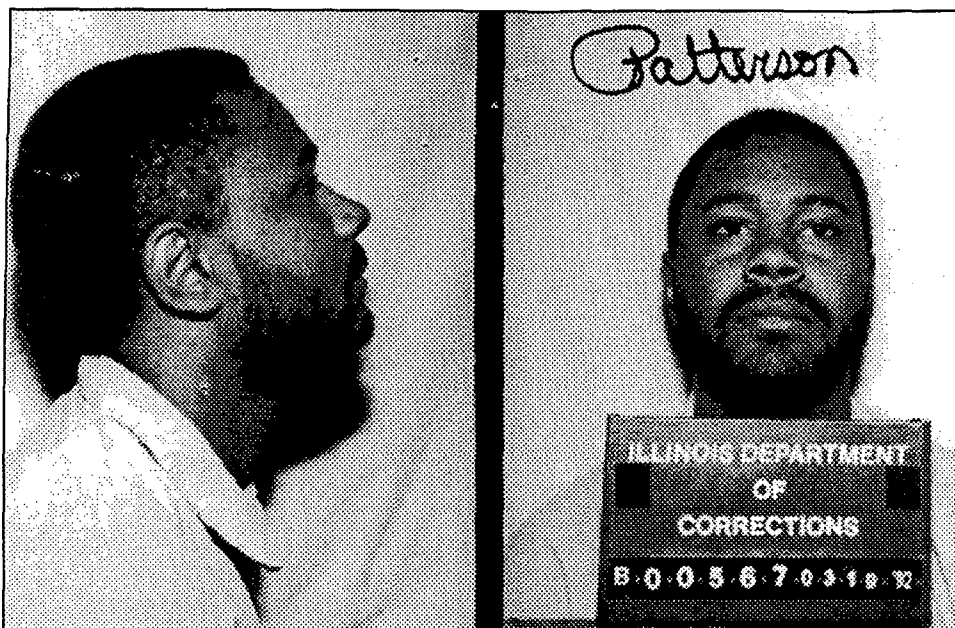
lawyer, but the officer told him 'nope' and left the room."

Joanne Patterson

The red-haired officer was Jonathan Burge. If there's one name in the city's rogues' gallery of which Chicagoans should feel ashamed, it is his. (See "In Short," March 8, 1993.) In his 20 years on the police force, Burge became famous among his colleagues for solving even the most intractable cases, and his star rose rapidly: In quick succession he was promoted from detective to sergeant, to lieutenant, to head of the violent crimes division of Area 2, and finally to commander of Area 3.

His secret: interrogation methods that would embarrass many Third World countries, including not only severe beatings but burns, suffocation and electric shock. There is no telling how many people were tortured by Burge in his two decades on the force. Over 70 individuals, most of whom had had no previous contact with each other, have come forward with stories of abuse.





In 1993 Jon Burge was fired from the police force for “physically abusing” a suspect. By then, the evidence against him was overwhelming. In 1989 the People’s Law Office, a non-profit organization specializing in civil rights cases, was

such esoteric areas as psychological techniques and planned torture.” On Nov. 12, 1991, the superintendent of the Chicago Police Department sent a request to the Police Board for Burge’s dismissal.

contacted by an anonymous Area 2 policeman they came to call “Deep Badge.” Using information provided by Deep Badge, the People’s Law Office assembled a list of 72 individuals tortured by Burge over a 20-year period and won a civil suit against the city alleging “a de facto policy ... whereby the police were allowed to abuse those suspected of killing policemen.”

In 1990 a professional investigator in the police department’s Office of Professional Standards (OPS) confirmed that “systematic” abuse had occurred under Burge’s command. The abuse, concluded the OPS report, “was not limited to the usual beating, but went into

Capital crimes

In 1972, in the landmark case of *Furman v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a five-to-four majority, overturned all the death penalty laws then in force. All such statutes were, in the words of the court, “arbitrary and discriminatory,” lacking any appropriate principles to decide who would receive the penalty. By 1976, however, the court had begun to approve revised death penalty statutes. By 1980, more than 1,000 men waited on death row, and several hundred more have been sentenced to die every year since. Why?

No one has ever found a statistically significant deterrent effect from the death penalty, according to Randolph Stone, a professor at the University of Chicago Law School and head of the Mandel Legal Aid Clinic. In the wake of executions, the only change in crime rates that has ever been documented is a slight increase in murder rates. “When killing someone is proposed as a solution to society’s problems, it has a way of trickling down,” he explains.

But for many, deterrence just isn’t the issue. “I couldn’t care less about deterrence,” says Bill Kunkle, a former assistant district attorney who prosecuted numerous capital cases and is now a defense lawyer who has represented, among others, Jon Burge. He is also an outspoken supporter of the death penalty. “Whatever its deterrent effect,” he says, “the death penalty is morally appropriate. For the most terrible crimes a terrible and awful punishment is required.”

But there seems to be little correspondence between the atrociousness of a crime and the chance of receiving the death penalty for it. “The crimes of most people on death row are not very different from those of people who committed first-degree murder and did not get the death penalty,” says Andrea Lyon of the Capital Resource Center, which provides legal service for those on death row. Your chance of being executed has much less to do with your crime than with your education, with the talent of your lawyer—and with your race.

Probably the most exhaustive study of the demographics of death row is the book *Death and Discrimination*, by Samuel Gross and Robert Mauro. Analyzing FBI records on all non-negligent homicides in eight states, including Illinois, between 1976 and 1980, the researchers found that, all else being equal, killers of whites were four to six times as likely to receive the death penalty as killers of blacks. Other studies have confirmed these results.

One of the most disquieting things about the death penalty—which would remain unsettling even if race never entered into a sentence of death—is the random, almost whimsical way people are chosen to be killed in the name of justice. Racism is just one aspect of this; in the *Furman* decision, Justice William Brennan compared the death penalty to a “lottery system.” Two decades later, the process is no less arbitrary. Perhaps that is why Justice Harry Blackmun recently announced that his faith in the current system was now gone. As he explained, “I feel morally and intellectually obliged simply to concede that the death penalty experiment has failed.”

—J.W.M.

Burge's ouster may be cold comfort to his many victims—he was never charged on any criminal count, and the police officers' union collected a large sum to support him—but it is at least a limited victory for the legal system.

Except for one little detail: A great many people were convicted over the years on the strength of confessions Burge extracted, and those convictions have been left unaffected by the discovery that Burge was a torturer.

Not one word of Patterson's testimony about the interrogation was admitted at the trial. Nor were photos an investigator had made of this message, scratched into a bench in the room where, the police agreed, the interrogation had taken place: "I lied about the murders police threatened me with violence slapped and suffocated me with plastic—no phone—no dad signed false statement to murders Aaron."

Under Illinois law, the state need only prove that a confession is voluntary by a preponderance of evidence—and since the judge refused to admit any evidence that the statement was coerced, that standard was not hard to meet. As Burge had said, it was his word against Patterson's.

Besides the confession, the only evidence against Patterson was the testimony of Marva Hall. In the time between the crime and the trial, she changed her story several times. At one point she signed a statement recanting her testimony, but she later changed her mind again and claimed that she had recanted only after being threatened by Patterson and his friends. At the trial her original testimony was admitted, along with her statement that Patterson had threatened her and that she "felt afraid" of him; the statement she made at the same time that she was equally afraid of the police was not admitted.

In a taped interview, I asked Hall what really happened. Had Patterson ever told her that he had murdered the Sanchezes? "No," she said unequivocally, "he never told me that." Then why did she testify that he did? "The reason I did that," she said, "was that Aaron had made me mad." She explained that Patterson had once pulled a gun on her boyfriend, a member of a rival gang. Patterson and his friends did threaten her, she said, but so did the district attorney. "He told me if I didn't testify I'd have to do some time, for taking them to all that trouble."

Patterson is now in his eighth year on death row. Most likely he will spend at least four or five more years there before being released or executed; it takes a long time to kill a man. I was unable to speak to him because his phone privileges have been taken away, but he has been in touch with his mother. "For the first four years it wasn't so bad," says Mrs. Patterson, because he felt like he was serving time for another assault, one he freely admits to. But now, locked in his cell 23 hours out of every 24, he is beginning to go a little crazy.

"The thing that amazes me about this case," says Patterson's brother, Raymond Jr., "is the kind of evidence Aaron was convicted on. When you think about death penalty cases, you think about guys dusting for fingerprints, you think of this whole elaborate process of linking the person

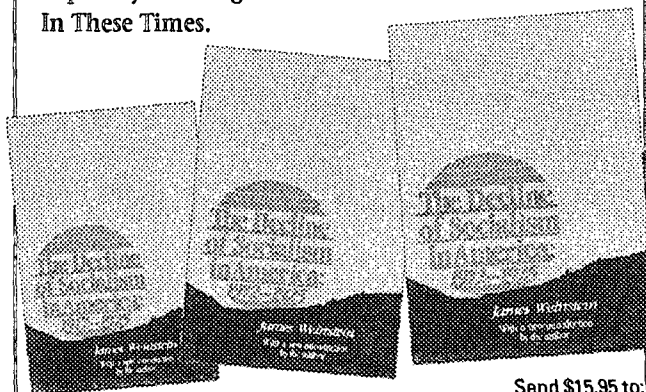
to the crime. It seems like when you go out and lay a death penalty on somebody, it's got to be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt. And here it wasn't proven at all." Who knows what went through the minds of the jurors who sentenced Aaron Patterson to death. "Several of the jurors came up to me and told me what a great job I'd done, how convincing I was," recalls public defender Brian Dosch, Patterson's lawyer. "And then they killed my client. I don't understand it." It is often pointed out that criminals can sometimes escape punishment through technicalities; it is far less widely recognized that people can be convicted and executed on technicalities as well.

We may never know if Aaron Patterson really did kill the Sanchezes. What is certain is that the impartial machinery of the law magnified a random glitch, a defect in its own functioning, into an order to end a man's life. Had the court's evidentiary rulings during his trial and appeals taken a different, and perhaps more justifiable turn, Patterson might well be a free man today. It's not impossible that Aaron Patterson committed the murders; he has no ironclad alibi, and he was regularly in trouble with the law. But the evidence on which he was convicted was no evidence at all. If after almost 20 years of fine-tuning, our death penalty statutes still allow travesties like this, maybe it's time we give up on the death penalty once and for all. ◀

J. W. Mason is an editor for *Grey City Journal*, a Chicago-based publication in which an earlier version of this article appeared.

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J U S T I C E

Pride and prejudice

G

rowing up poor and Latino in Aurora, Ill., Rolando Cruz never had an easy life. But just before he turned 20, things got considerably worse: he was charged with kidnapping, raping and murdering 10-year-old Jeanine Nicarico from nearby Naperville. And despite a glaring lack of evidence linking him to the crime and a convicted killer's confession of guilt in the girl's murder, Cruz now sits on death row. The Illinois Supreme Court is expected to rule shortly on an appeal of his conviction.

The 1983 crime traumatized the region, a Republican stronghold noted primarily for its high level of suburban amenities. After more than a year without a credible suspect, public pressure provoked the Du Page County Sheriff's Department to charge Cruz and a friend named Alejandro Hernandez with Nicarico's abduction, rape and

murder. The two were tried and convicted in February 1985 despite the lack of direct evidence linking them to the crime.

In fact, the only incriminating data was a "vision" Cruz was said to have had of the Nicarico murder that closely conformed in its details to the actual crime. This story was first recounted by two sheriff's detectives during the course of the trial, and although it was never recorded or corroborated, the vision story was the evidence most responsible for Cruz's first conviction.

Several months later, a suspect who had been arrested in the abduction, rape and murder of a seven-year-old girl from LaSalle County, Ill., confessed to that slaying and volunteered information about the murders of two others: a woman in Kane County, Ill., named Donna Schnorr—and Jeanine Nicarico. The suspect, Brian Dugan, said he acted alone and offered to provide testimony that would exonerate Cruz and Hernandez, if he could plea-bargain for a life sentence with-

out possibility of parole instead of a death sentence.

Both Kane and La Salle County accepted Dugan's confession for the crimes in their respective areas, but Du Page officials refused. After all, they already had solved the county's most celebrated murder mystery, and the two men sitting on death row were their trophies.

In December 1987, the Illinois Supreme Court overturned Cruz's and Hernandez's convictions for procedural reasons unrelated to the specifics of the case or to Dugan's confession. And with doubts growing about the initial trial, combined with Dugan's detailed confession—including a DNA test that implicated Dugan and excluded Hernandez—it seemed reasonable to assume that Du Page prosecutors would drop the charges against the two Latinos while they had a face-saving excuse.

Instead, Du Page County tried them again, and again the county won convictions. Hernandez was spared the death sentence by a judge who noted problems with the state's case; he received a sentence of 80 years. Cruz was returned to death row. In the second trial, jurors were told about portions of Dugan's story but were not informed that his crime history featured the same patterns of kidnap, rape and murder that distinguished the Nicarico case.

And just in case some jurors found those selective portions of Dugan's testimony credible, the prosecution—presenting a different argument than had been presented at the earlier trial—suggested that he might, in fact, have been an accomplice of Cruz and Hernandez. "The prosecution has changed theories between Cruz's first and second trial," notes Peter Handler, coordinator of the committee formed to work for Cruz's freedom. "At first they said the two co-defendants acted alone, and now they're including Dugan."

The Du Page officials' singleminded dedication to the

*The
prosecution's
inability to
admit mistakes
is keeping
an innocent
man on
death row.*

By Salim Muwakkil
CHICAGO

notion that Cruz is Nicarico's killer increasingly is being seen as a cover-up for prosecutorial misconduct and a wrongful conviction. These protests are not coming from just the usual suspects of prison watchdog groups or other ideologically committed constituencies. Many law enforcement officials, investigators and prosecutors with comprehensive knowledge of the case are also convinced that Cruz is innocent.

The latest defector is Mary Brigid Kenney, a deputy to Illinois Attorney General Roland Burris, who quit her post as chief investigator for the Cruz case because she believes he is the wrong man. In a detailed and damning letter of resignation that was made public, Kenney concluded that Cruz and Hernandez were unfairly convicted.

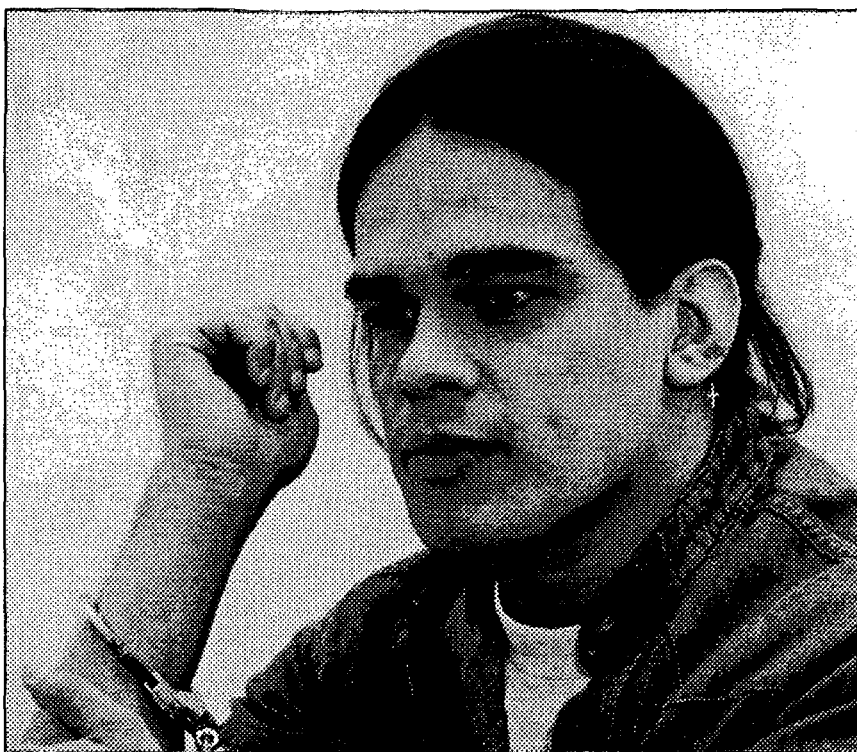
She had been assigned to the case to argue in favor of Cruz's conviction. "I relished the opportunity to play a role in punishing those who were responsible for the heinous crimes that were carried out on Jeanine Nicarico," she wrote. But "after careful examination of the record," she became convinced that she "was being asked to help execute an innocent man who has been grossly denied a right to a fair trial."

Burris, who recently lost the state's Democratic gubernatorial primary on an anti-crime platform, contends that the attorney general's job is simply to argue on behalf of the state, and that the jury's guilty verdict is in the state's interest. Critics claim that the attorney general has enough latitude to prevent the occurrence of an obvious injustice, but has chosen instead to give credence to the flimsy case presented by Du Page County officials.

Handler speculates that Du Page County officials are unwilling to admit earlier mistakes and miscalculations because it would mean that serious infractions were incurred. "Not only would they have to admit that they botched their investigation, but some police would have to admit that they perjured themselves," he says.

The most cynical critics describe the Du Page County Sheriff's Department as a group of desperate men who, under enormous pressure to find the perpetrators of this heinous crime, attempted to manufacture evidence against some petty toughs from the back streets of Aurora. They were joined in the frame-up by county officials harboring political ambitions that obliged them to adopt "tough-on-crime" postures and who concluded that their aspirations were more important than the possibility of a wrongful execution.

For their part, Du Page officials continue to insist that they have the right man, that Dugan's confession is a classic case of "jailhouse snitching"—unreliable and self-serving—that juries have heard everything that Cruz's supporters know and still have found him guilty.



Rolando Cruz

Lawrence Marshall is Cruz's attorney and a professor of law at Northwestern

University. He strongly disputes the notion that the juries have heard all of the relevant evidence. He says that Circuit Court Judge Edward Kowal strictly limited what jurors could hear about Dugan. "It's curious to me why anyone who is sincerely searching for the perpetrator of this truly heinous crime would want to limit any testimony," Marshall said. It's a good question.

But the larger question, of course, is why does Rolando Cruz remain on death row? A thorough reading of the particulars in this case clearly reveals that Cruz's convictions were miscarriages of justice that were fueled by dubious motives. "One of the greatest satisfactions of publicizing the injustices in this case," says Marshall, "is the fact that we caught one of the chinks in the system. Who would have thought that there would be so much fuss over these two poor Latino kids from Aurora?"

The fuss has been considerable. Not only have a host of law enforcement officials and prison movement organizers joined the cause, but *60 Minutes* last fall did a positive piece about Cruz, the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* published an excellent account of the case in November 1992, and the movement grows larger daily. A recent and enthusiastic convert is *Chicago Tribune* columnist Eric Zorn, who has written extensively about the case.

"I've read a lot of briefs in the case and most of the testimony from the first and second trials," Zorn explains, "and I've found that the more you look into it, the more you realize that the state has nothing. In my mind, this is the biggest miscarriage of justice around today."

TRADE

The GATT's out of the bag

W

*Even corporate
America is
losing its
euphoria over
the General
Agreement on
Tariffs and
Trade.*

By John B. Judis
WASHINGTON, D.C.

When Clinton administration negotiators returned from Geneva last December with a new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), House and Senate members lined up to support it. In a front-page tribute to the treaty, the *New York Times* waxed poetic: "Free trade means growth. Free trade means growth. Free trade means growth. Just say it 50 more times and all doubts [about GATT] will melt away." The administration called for a vote on the treaty by the summer and joined British Prime Minister John Major in urging that it go into effect even earlier than planned—in January 1995 instead of July.

But this early euphoria—punctured only by Ralph Nader and a few unions and textile companies—has largely disappeared and has been replaced by growing doubts about the treaty's

worth. On March 10, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO), who had endorsed the treaty, shocked the administration by calling for a postponement of the congressional ratification vote until next year. Gephardt said he wanted to spend six months developing the "enabling legislation" that has to accompany the treaty. This legislation is supposed to amend U.S. trade laws to fit GATT's new rules, but Gephardt's aides explained later that the majority leader wants to use it to prevent the treaty from nullifying American laws.

Then a labor-industry group, the Labor-Industry Coalition for International Trade (LICIT)—which includes Intel, Motorola, Chrysler, the Machinists and the United Steelworkers—called for Congress to use the enabling legislation to attach extensive qualifications to the treaty. The GATT treaty, LICIT wrote, "will, on balance, weaken the ability of the United States to use its trade laws to open foreign markets and offset the effects of protectionist practices." Both Gephardt and the members of LICIT still

support GATT's ratification, but the limits they want to put on the treaty's application could be tantamount to an American rejection.

What's at stake here? To other countries, the United States appears as an economic Goliath—but in terms of trade law, this country has been the world's David for 40 years, tolerating other nation's formal and informal protective barriers, while maintaining the most open markets of any country. Now that other countries' industries have become competitive with, or even superior to, American firms, American businesses and workers understandably want to "level the playing field."

Since 1947, GATT has served as a means for negotiating tariff reductions among the world's nations. In the latest series of GATT negotiations, dubbed the Uruguay Round, the leading industrial nations not only tried to adopt new trade rules that went beyond tariffs, but also attempted to set up a mechanism to enforce them. American negotiators sought to make it more difficult for other countries to bar or discourage American exports. On the other hand, Japan and other countries wanted to use the new GATT to prevent the United States from using its trade laws against their companies. When U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor returned from Geneva, he claimed that he won a resounding victory. Kantor did secure lower overall tariffs, particularly in less developed countries. That should help American exports. But in the crucial areas affecting American trade with East Asia and Europe, Kantor may have gotten the worse end of the deal.

Businesses and unions are particularly worried about how GATT will affect American laws against foreign firms

"dumping" their goods on the American market and against other countries using informal trade barriers—through cartels, Byzantine customs regulation, or government purchasing—to block American imports.

Under American trade law, passed first in 1930 and amended in 1979, an administration can penalize companies that "dump," i.e., sell their goods in the United States at prices less than they sell them in their home market or at prices that will not result in a profit. Dumping is an important weapon in trade relations, particularly with East Asian countries, whose companies use dumping strategically—not simply in order to get rid of excess inventory, but in order to capture market share. In 1986, for instance, the Reagan administration put duties on Japanese memory chip exporters who were dumping their goods in the American market in order to drive American firms out of business.

Under the old GATT, there were few restrictions on anti-dumping laws, and the rules themselves were not enforceable. But the new GATT sets up a binding international group, the World Trade Organization (WTO), which will enforce new restrictions on anti-dumping laws. For instance, under current American law, the government's anti-dumping orders remain in effect indefinitely until companies demonstrate that they have stopped selling their products below cost. The new GATT will terminate anti-dumping orders automatically after five years, requiring the affected companies to again prove to the Commerce Department that they are being victimized. This process often costs companies millions of dollars.

The new GATT treaty will also raise the limit on how much a foreign competitor can undersell U.S. firms. Before, a U.S. company could bring a dumping complaint if a foreign competitor was selling goods below cost and pricing them .5 percent below prevailing American prices. Now the foreign competitor will have to be selling its goods at 2 percent below American prices. But in industries such as semiconductors, in which billions of sales are made, even a price slightly below the prevailing one can create an unfair advantage.

In addition, the new GATT will require 25 percent of the firms in an industry to back a complaint before it can be brought to the Commerce Department. But in many dumping cases, less than a quarter of an industry's firms are willing to bring a complaint. The others either aren't directly affected or are worried that by bringing a complaint, they will alienate an important foreign supplier.

GATT's challenge to American law aimed at informal trade barriers could be even more significant. In Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974, Congress gave the administration the right to impose bilateral sanctions on countries that informally block American imports. Section 301 has been used to open the Japanese market in semiconductors, telecommunications and finished wood products. It has also been important in U.S. trade relations with South Korea, Taiwan and China.

U.S. Trade Representative Kantor insisted that the new

GATT left Section 301 "exactly today as it has always been," but other countries, including Japan, believe that GATT now makes the use of Section 301 illegal.

Both sides can make a plausible argument for their view, but the American case is slightly weaker and, to say the least, has less adherents. American negotiators insist that because GATT does not discuss informal trade barriers, the United States can proceed as before. But Japanese and European negotiators argue that because GATT does not discuss the barriers, it rules them out as grounds for trade negotiations. By the same token, American negotiators claim that because GATT covers only multilateral trade negotiations, bilateral negotiations covered by Section 301 are exempt from the treaty. But Japan and Europe argue that GATT's emphasis on multilateral agreements makes the use of section 301 contrary to the spirit of the treaty.

In practice, the dispute over Section 301 could occur something like this: The U.S. government, wanting to pry open Japan's cartel-dominated cellular phone market, puts a tariff on Japanese phone exports to the United States. The Japanese file a complaint with the WTO that the United States is erecting an illegal barrier against their goods. The WTO rules that the United States has to eliminate its tariffs because they are not in response to the kind of trade restrictions recognized by the new treaty. The United States loses.

The United States got a taste of what could happen last month after Clinton threatened to put Section 301 sanctions on Japanese goods to force them to open up their markets. Twenty GATT members came to Japan's defense, charging that U.S. trade tactics were violating GATT provisions. GATT's Director-General Peter Sutherland warned that the Clinton administration was "putting the achievements of the Uruguay Round to the test even before they are fully operational."

Sutherland's comment brought home to business and labor groups here just how perilous the new GATT could be and it influenced Gephardt's decision to seek a delay in the GATT vote. What was expected to be a routine ratification may now turn out to be much trickier than Sutherland or the Clinton administration negotiators expected. The battle over GATT is far from over. ◀

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L A B O R

Trucking ahead

Despite setbacks, Teamsters president Ron Carey is stepping up his reform efforts.

By David Moberg

T

he battle for the soul of the Teamsters union—and, to some extent, the labor movement itself—has ratcheted up to a new level of intensity. Nearly halfway into his five-year term, Teamsters president Ron Carey has decided that most of the union's old guard leaders are so opposed to making the Teamsters more militant and democratic that cooperation with them is impossible.

While he has stepped up his internal reform efforts—dismantling bureaucratic structures controlled by his opponents and pledging to become more active in local union politics—Carey is simultaneously pursuing a combative course on other fronts. He is pushing a tougher, more independent political strategy for labor in relation to President Clinton and congres-

sional Democrats. Carey is also expanding organizing efforts (including a drive for 22,000 United Airlines technical and service employees) and bargaining more aggressively with employers.

Contract fights range from the 120,000-worker national freight trucking industry, whose agreement expires at the end of March, to a small branch of the Norwegian multinational, Frionor, where the union mobilized women's groups and international allies to block threats to the jobs of vulnerable older women.

Yet all such efforts will be more difficult with the apparent defeat of a dues increase that Carey proposed. (See "In Short," March 7.) As *In These Times* went to press, early returns indicated that the dues hike had been soundly defeated in an unprecedented mail ballot referendum of rank-and-file members.

Carey was elected in 1991 in a government-supervised election that was part of a deal to permit old Teamsters leaders to avoid racketeering prosecution. The new president inherited a financially unsound international union. He has reduced some waste and salaries, but the union has a declining membership and members' flat-fee dues to the international have not increased in more than a decade. Meanwhile, strike costs have soared upwards from about \$4 million to \$34 million a year after the 1991 national convention quadrupled striker benefits. Without a dues hike, Carey said, the strike fund will be exhausted in April, and the international union itself will be in grave trouble by next year.

Carey decided to ask members to vote directly on a 25 percent increase in their dues (which comes out to an average of \$6.25 more per month) rather than reconvene the national Teamsters convention, which would be controlled by old guard opponents intent on reducing his powers. It was always a long shot: dues hikes are no more popular than tax increases. Predictably, the old guard ran a concerted, often misleading campaign against the dues increase.

Yet Carey's own base also balked. Two members of Carey's executive board slate urged members to vote "no" on the dues increase. That included the head of the important United Parcel Service department, a reform stronghold, who continued to proclaim his support of Carey's program. Some local leaders who are not rabidly anti-Carey also opposed the dues hike for their own parochial reasons. While Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU)—a rank-and-file reform group—backed the dues increase, it was not able to mobilize enthusiastic support.

Rank-and-file members, who voted in greater numbers on their dues than in the historic election of top officials, opposed the new dues for a hodgepodge of reasons. Beyond

knee-jerk opposition to higher bills and a deeply ingrained cynical view of the world, some objected to the union's tactics (including tendentious wording of the ballot). Others voted "no" in anger at their local leaders (even those who opposed the dues increase), and others simply believed there was still widespread waste and extravagance. Some thought a smaller increase could replenish the strike fund.

"Our own supporters are voting 'no' for the most part," Teamster communications director Matt Witt acknowledged. "Lots of messages are coming back from members that 'Local officers drive around in the latest town cars and I ain't paying more for that when my last contract gave me a pay freeze. [Reformers] may have come in [at the international level], but the same guys are running the [regional] conferences.'"

The four U.S. regional conference chairmen—all old guard stalwarts who had been defeated for international office in the 1991 vote—led the fight against the dues hike. Many of them also refused to support the union's February strike against UPS, which would not negotiate safe methods of handling packages weighing up to a new limit of 150 pounds.

Just as the counting of the dues ballots began on March 21, Carey announced that he would ask the union executive board to disband the four regional conferences. Carey argued that because there are fewer regional employers, this layer of bureaucracy, which costs about \$14 million a year, has become anachronistic. While saving money and streamlining the union, Carey also intends to reduce the old guard's political power.

Carey's opponents, who vowed to fight the dismantling, argue that he is simply trying to suppress dissent and is destroying valuable intermediary institutions in an attempt "to totally centralize power," according to Jack Mogelson, spokesperson for Teamsters First, an anti-Carey caucus. Carey stresses populist democracy, but local officials—including those who are not "old guard"—cherish their autonomy and power.

Carey maintains that the old guard, through its opposition and its refusal to cooperate in campaigns to inform members about union issues, had already made a "declaration of war." In a recent interview he argued, "What they're saying is 'cut the strike fund, cut the corporate campaigns, cut the communications [with members], cut all of those things back. It's only making the union stronger. It's only breathing life into the union, and that's not what we want.'"

Abolishing the conferences will not save enough money to solve the union's problems. Carey has arranged \$80 million in loans from other unions if the Teamsters need to strike any of the big freight companies, but he has revealed no new options for finances. "First thing I'll have to do is make more adjustments, more cuts," he said. But unlike his opponents, Carey is committed to continuing some expensive, high-profile strikes, like the two-and-a-half-year-old battle against Diamond Walnut. (See *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1993.)

The old guard had portrayed the dues hike as a referendum on Carey. But while its defeat demonstrates that the Teamsters president still has at best a tenuous claim on the loyalty of the rank and file, Carey insisted that it was "not a litmus test" of his support among members. "It's their money," he said. "They should have a right to a say."

The old guard says it wants "a seat at the table," but Carey contends they have not responded to offers of a chance to cooperate and have simply fought to regain power. "Over the past two years I've had a strong belief that if you try hard enough to lessen the pain and heal the past, that would work," Carey said. "Well, it hasn't worked. All it's done is create more problems. They're not interested in working with us. What do they stand for? They don't stand for the members. They stand for themselves."

His opponents also stand with the employers against a stronger union with active members, Carey argued, citing the involvement of at least one trucking executive in the campaign against the dues increase. "When you talk about the enemies out there," Carey said, "it's not just about the good ol' boys. It's about the big corporations. They don't want me to succeed."

Much of the conflict with the old guard, Carey said, has actually focused on control over the grievance procedure. In the process of settling with companies on members' complaints, Teamsters officials have historically had unchecked power to cut deals with employers, gut contracts and get rid of union militants.

So far Carey has stayed out of most local elections, often to the dismay of his ardent grass-roots supporters. He's now decided to get involved. "I'm changing, every single day," he said. "Where I can be of help, I'm going to be out there. The olive branch hasn't worked." However, this growing internal battle for power could exact at least a short-term toll on the union's strength.

Even Carey's opponents grudgingly respect his toughness and daring. "He's got the guts," said a woman identified only as Pat, a delegate to the union's first-ever women's conference last month in Chicago, who agreed that a dues increase was needed but voted against it anyway. "Guts is what it takes to run this union."

The trucking companies will find that neither the dues vote nor internal union politics will weaken Carey's insistence on job security for members, whose ranks have been cut in half and whose wages have declined by roughly one-fifth in real value over the past 15 years. "Carey's straight up," said TDU organizer Ken Paff. "He believes 'if this is the right thing, let's do it.'"

"Who wants to see a revival of the labor movement in this country?" Carey asked. "To many labor officials around the country, the union is just a business. It isn't about the membership, and that's tragic. What we're doing here are some very remarkable things, and each time we do them, people will throw things in our path to try to distract us. The one thing they'll probably never understand is my determination."

B O S N I A

Return of the superpowers

N

ineteen ninety-four can already go down as the year the United States and Russia reasserted themselves as the dominant superpowers in Europe. After brief interludes of uncertainty and disorientation, and a squandered chance for Europe to fill the vacuum, the Cold War powers are back at the center of geopolitics. In Bosnia, as well as elsewhere in Eastern Europe (and the Mideast, too), relations between the two countries could prove the key to regional stability—or, as the case may be, to a renewed division into antagonistic blocs.

The spectacular entrance of Washington and Moscow into the negotiations on Bosnia produced results that neither the European Union (EU, formerly the European Community) nor the United Nations teams achieved in two years of trying. Moscow, clearly piqued at NATO's decision to strike

Bosnian Serb positions, jumped in to broker the longest-lasting ceasefire in Sarajevo since the war began. As *In These Times* went to press, Serb-blocked aid routes and airports were open again.

The United States, too, finally involved itself constructively, hammering out an intrinsically reasonable multinational federation/confederation plan for Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. The wars in Bosnia are hardly over, but should the so-called Washington plan succeed, it could serve as a model in disputed, ethnically mixed areas. This would be a foreign policy coup for the Clinton administration.

Unlike the U.N. and EU plans for carving Bosnia into ethnically based parts, the Washington plan envisions a decentralized, multinational polity. It proposes a federation of seven to nine cantons within about half of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although the cantons are ethnically based

(a distinct drawback), they will be jointly inhabited and administered by Muslims and Croats. A central government will be responsible for trade, foreign policy and defense, the cantons for police, culture, education and media. The state presidency will rotate annually between a Croat and a Muslim, and the Croats will be guaranteed a third of the seats in parliament. The Bosnian state will exist in a confederation with Croatia proper, with common trade zones and coordinated defense policies.

If international negotiators had better anticipated Yugoslavia's breakup and started working with multiethnic federation-confederation models much earlier, as groups like the Helsinki Citizens Assembly had argued, at least some of the bloodshed could have been averted. The premise of the various peace plans until now had been that different peoples *can't* live together, leaving ethnic and territorial partition as the only answer. The logic of ethnic partition, championed most prominently by U.N. negotiator Lord Owen, is the same logic that extreme nationalists use to justify their visions of "greater" states and ethnic cleansing as the means to achieve them.

Unfortunately, the Washington plan does not break completely with the Vance-Owen rationale. The ethnically defined cantons implicitly endorse the principle of national dominance, although at the local level but not at the state level. In the Croat cantons Muslims will feel like second-class citizens; in Muslim cantons Croats will fear discrimination. Nevertheless, the Croats and Muslims seem to accept the idea of the plan. The problem all along had been Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who instigated and fueled the Muslim-Croat war in hopes of adding western Herzegovina to Croatia. Tudjman, however, came under intense international pressure, not least from U.S. Secretary of State

The reassertion of U.S. and Russian clout has pushed Bosnia's warring parties toward a solution—for now.

By Paul Hockenos

Warren Christopher, to abandon his dreams of a Greater Croatia. Perhaps even more critical, the Bosnian army refused to accept defeat, as Owen and company had urged it to do, instead fighting back to hand the Croat armies a string of humiliating losses.

The Muslim-Croat federation's success, however, hinges upon the actions of Serbia—and ultimately of Russia. One glaring problem is that the envisioned state would cover a yet unmapped 51 percent of the former territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the moment, the Serbs control about 70 percent of Bosnia and appear in no mood to give it up. Also, Tudjman insists that he will cooperate only if Croatia regains control of the Serb-occupied parts of eastern Croatia. Last but not least, the Bosnian Serbs must concede Sarajevo and the Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia to the joint state.

These would be big stipulations even if Moscow were to throw its full weight behind the plan, which, as of yet, it hasn't done. Although Moscow has plenty of clout with the Serbs, the question remains whether it will prod or protect its traditional ally. Should it fail to move the Serbs, Western military force remains an option—one that the Bosnian Serbs appear to understand.

For all its merits, a Muslim-Croat federation effectively divides Bosnia, if not the entire Balkans, into opposing spheres. The signing of the plan extinguished the last faint hope that an independent multicultural, multireligious Bosnia-Herzegovina would live again within its recognized borders. Although Washington has invited the Bosnian Serbs to participate in the federation, the Serbs still have their sights set on joining the rump Yugoslavia. Instead of a three-way partition, à la Owen, there will be two Bosnias.

If Bosnia does split along these fronts, the upshot would be a Western-oriented Catholic (and moderate Muslim) axis from southern Bosnia/Croatia to Slovenia, and a pro-Russian, Orthodox alliance in the East. Those same lines of division could extend straight through Central Europe to the Baltics (and southward down to Greece), putting the Catholic-Protestant and Eastern Orthodox countries into different camps.

The new direction of Russian foreign policy only reinforces such a division. Moscow has mapped out Russian spheres of influence in the former Soviet Union, its so-called "near abroad," where it intends to have the final say. Central Europe and the Balkans, though not the "near abroad," are nevertheless regions in which Russia will play some kind of role.

Should the West continue to cold-shoulder countries like Bulgaria, Slovakia and Romania, they may feel their interests are better served elsewhere. Greece, a NATO and EU member, may find itself on the other side of the blocs this time around. Athens has sided with the Serbs from the beginning, obstructing international diplomacy and contributing to the instability of the region. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic clearly want to be part of Western Europe, if only the West would take them.

The vague, non-binding nature of President Clinton's Partnership for Peace plan, offered to the Europeans in lieu of NATO membership or concrete security guarantees, plays into Russian hands. By adding its name to the list of interested countries, Moscow has ensured its influence on the plan's eventual content. Nothing will happen within Central Europe or the Baltics that contradicts Russian President Boris Yeltsin's wishes.

The new element in post-Cold War East-West relations is the absence of meta-ideologies to rationalize geopolitical strategy. The superpowers can no longer claim the ostensible showdown between free-market democracy and international socialism as their *raison d'être*. The struggle is now obviously that of two weakened superpowers trying to maintain their clout in an area that they successfully dominated in the past. Russia's lip service to the 25 million Russians abroad is but a convenient excuse to legitimize its very own—and very popular—Monroe Doctrine at a time when absolutely nothing else is going right.

In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, the Europeans had their first chance in postwar history to establish a new agenda for the continent, to put the interests of a united Europe above those of Washington or Moscow. They had their chance—and they let it pass. The superpowers simply stepped into their old shoes.

But under the new circumstances, the return of the superpowers needn't necessarily mean a return of the Cold War. In the Balkans, the United States and Russia could cooperate or they could clash. A solution to the Bosnia debacle would be a brilliant feather in both their caps and would set a precedent for other trouble spots, including the Mideast.

Minus the ideological hyperbole of the Cold War, East and West now have only their own calculated interests at stake, which at least provides a more rational basis for bilateral relations. Sadly, those interests are no more enlightened than in the past.

Paul Hockenos is the author of *Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Postcommunist Eastern Europe* (Routledge).



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VIEWPOINT

Saving Somalia

By Carl M. Peterson and Daniel T. Barkley

As the final U.S. military units withdrew from Somalia last week, they left behind a country no longer devastated by famine. Nonetheless, Somalia today is plagued by many of the same problems it faced when American troops arrived in late 1992. Primary among those is the fact that Somalia still does not have a functional federal government. And without a leadership structure in place in Mogadishu, Somalia cannot hope to feed its people without outside assistance.

One of the most devastating mistakes the United States and United Nations have made in Somalia is misunderstanding the key role of clan politics. No workable government can be established without taking the clans into account.

Somali society and hence Somali politics has long been based on a complicated relationship among its many clan families, clans and subclans. Clan identification, developed through a web of kinship ties and traced through the father's genealogical line, defines one's rights and obligations as well as one's socioeconomic status. Tribal conflict in Somalia doesn't refer to the struggles between peoples of different cultures or practices, but rather to

complex disputes among different groups who happen to be interrelated through genealogical ties.

Clan identity has in the past served as a unifying force, holding together Somalia's disparate social fabric. However, Somali leaders have also taken full advantage of Somalia's clan culture and used it for political advantage. Shrewd rulers have insulated and protected their political regimes by exploiting clan coalitions.

The previous parliamentary and socialist regimes in Somalia both used clan identity and lineages to maintain power. These governments were not run by single dominant clans or groups of clans but rather by alliances of prominent individuals, called "big men," who represented different clan

families. These big men provided jobs, lucrative construction permits, cash payments and other means of patronage, in exchange for political support from their families. Leadership under the parliamentary regime of the '60s came from big men in the Hawiye, Isaaq and Mejeerteen clans, whereas Siad Barre's 1969-1991 authoritarian regime was composed of big men from the Mareehaan, Ogaadeen and Dulbohante clans—dubbed the MOD Alliance.

Such coalitions are not specific to Somalia. Building political alliances along clan or ethnic lines is an important and common feature of the political process in many African societies. The multiethnic African countries that have managed to avoid the misfortune of ethnic-based civil wars have done so by apportioning political power equitably among their citizens. In contrast, the monopoly of power by a few Somali clans and the alienation of all other groups led to social unrest.

Under Siad Barre's regime, for example, members of his Mareehaan clan constituted 60 percent of the military officers corps; other strategic leadership posts, such as ministers of foreign affairs, information and defense, were exclusively entrusted to individuals from the MOD confederation. This cronyism led to a widespread public sense of frustration and political alienation. Public discontent culminated in a civil war that ultimately led to Barre's downfall.

Tragically, the next Somali government could repeat the same patterns of clan favoritism and political corruption that led to the downfall of the previous parliamentary and socialist regimes. And far from being a stabilizing factor, international intervention has simply exacerbated the political anarchy. Before U.S./U.N. involvement, Somalia was still undergoing a revolutionary transformation process. The northern portion of the country, now the Somaliland Republic, had just

*A new constitution
must take into
account the
important and
complex role
of clans.*



declared its independence. In the southern half, factional fighting continued between United Somali Congress (USC) rivals Ali Mahdi Mohamed and Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid.

The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) shifted the power balance within the USC in Aidid's favor. Under U.S. guidance, UNOSOM first attempted to curry favor with Aidid, then—after Aidid's forces attacked Pakistani peacekeepers—vowed to capture Aidid and destroy his army. In the end, however, it was Aidid who remained in Mogadishu and the United States that withdrew. Aidid's "triumph" over U.S./U.N. forces has provided a psychological and political advantage that gives him the upper hand in talks with Mahdi and other faction leaders.

Although one cannot predict with certainty the political outcome in Somalia, it is clear that Aidid's victory over UNOSOM helped put the nation back on the path toward a government tainted with the crippling fallacies of clan favoritism and political corruption. Indeed, some of Aidid's political gestures indicate that clan-based politics appears to be coming back in style. He is currently using political patron-

age as a means of preserving his monopoly over his Haber Gidir clan and its four subclans of Sa'ad, Saleebaan, Saruur and 'Ayer. Aidid has already secured the backing of his clan's traditional leader, the Ugaz, and he has created a "shadow" cabinet of 42 ministers—exclusively selected from the 'Ayer and Sa'ad groups. Thus Aidid, like Siad Barre, seeks to build a new ruling coalition with his clan as the strongest partner.

But Aidid's ascendancy is not guaranteed; it might not be too late to build a stable Somali government that keeps clan favoritism and political corruption in check. Such a government must be based on revitalized indigenous institutions and a decentralized political structure that restores traditional powers and gives all clans a legitimate outlet for political expression.

Historically, the modern nation-state has developed from the collective values of its people. In Somalia, statehood was never predicated on indigenous collective values; hence, Somalia never developed the institutional framework necessary for sustaining a modern nation-state. The next Somali constitution must address this negligence. It must not only recognize clans; it must also incorporate them

into the government's routine decision-making processes.

As a means of inviting political participation, a "Traditional Powers House," comprised exclusively of clan elders, should share in the legislative powers of the government. This institutional framework would help limit the discretionary practice of using clan lineages as a means of acquiring political power.

Membership in the Traditional Powers House should be perpetual and based on clan affiliation. The process for selecting representatives should be left to each respective clan.

The Traditional Powers House would give clans a legitimate arena for settling old clan rivalries. Whereas most Western-style electoral systems would exclude some clans and generously rewards others, a Traditional Powers House would allocate an equal share of power to each and every clan constituency.

But a Traditional Powers House would not adequately serve all of Somalia's 6 million citizens; there are other factors to contend with. During the last century, Somalia witnessed the emergence of a new urban class, educated in Western-style schools and employed as merchants and professionals. Though they haven't completely erased tribalism from their day-to-day lives, the urban class does have a growing appreciation of aggregate politics.

The political aspirations of this group cannot be ignored. Somalia's traditional political system should be balanced with a popularly elected assembly that reflects the democratic aspirations of the emerging urban class. The fusion of a Traditional Powers House with a Democratic Assembly would serve as a good foundation for a new parliamentary government. Without such a government in place, Somalia seems doomed to repeat its history of instability and political violence. ◀

Carl M. Peterson and Daniel T. Barkley are graduate students at the University of California-Irvine.

DIALOGUE

Japanophobia

By Edward S. Herman

In his "A new foreign policy?" (ITT, March 7), John Judis praises President Clinton's new, more cautious policy on Bosnia. Narrowing our responsibility there, Judis tells us, would "make it possible for the United States to devote more resources to social problems at home." But the implication that it was a prior overcommitment in Bosnia or elsewhere that explains Clinton's request for an increase in CIA appropriations and a Bush-sized arms budget is not plausible.

On Clinton's recent moves against Japan, Judis seems unaware of the policy continuity with the North American Free Trade Agreement, the centerpiece of Clinton's foreign economic policy, which Judis himself faulted earlier. The political irresponsibility and danger in building on (and further stirring up) anti-Japanese feeling doesn't bother him.

Judis' analysis of the Japanese trade surplus leaves everything to be desired. He does not recognize that the United States has imposed major barriers to the import of Japanese

autos and electronic equipment, and that our protectionism is at least as severe as that of Japan.

His analysis of Japanese barriers is oversimplified: among other matters, he fails to mention the strong Japanese cultural preference for home-produced

***John Judis'
brand of liberal
imperialism is
politically
irresponsible and
intellectually
indefensible.***

goods, the dominance of small stores in their distribution system, and the frequent ineptitude of U.S. sellers trying to penetrate the Japanese market (i.e., car makers trying to sell cars with the steering wheel on the left). For years U.S. manufacturers have relied

heavily on the government's coercive pressure to force goods on the Japanese, often in ways that would be completely unacceptable if tried by anybody on us. (For a good example, see Scott Latham, "Poor, Poor Motorola," *Wall Street Journal*, March 3.)

Judis' assertion that the surplus "has cost American workers about 1.5 million jobs" has no basis in fact. It assumes that every dollar of the surplus rests on unreasonable Japanese barriers, is at the expense of U.S. sales and can be rectified by trade policy. It is probably closer to the truth to say that the surplus has *no* connection with trade barriers but is grounded in the fact that as a nation our level of saving is low and that we consequently consume more than we are producing. While Japanese barriers haven't grown, the trade surplus soared in the Reagan years of low saving and a spending (and import) outburst financed by a budgetary deficit, high interest rates and an overvalued dollar, as well as heavy borrowing abroad. The Japanese blame the trade imbalance on these macroeconomic factors, and most economists would agree.

Judis never finds any U.S. responsibility for our trade imbalance, and always takes official claims of Japanese failings at face value—he did this even for Reagan administration allegations of Japanese semiconductor misbehavior (ITT, May 6, 1987), which the Japanese rebutted in detail, without administration response. He never questions our right to impose quotas and otherwise bully the Japanese, irrespective of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade regulations. This "liberal imperialism" even goes beyond that of the editors of the *New York Times*, who take a more intellectually coherent and less aggressive position. ◀

Edward S. Herman is the author of *Beyond Hypocrisy: Decoding the News in an Age of Propaganda* (South End Press).

I N T H E A R T S

Domestic agenda

S

aigon, as glimpsed in *The Scent of Green Papaya*, is far from the Vietnam usually portrayed in American movies. The film—Vietnam's first Oscar nominee (for Best Foreign Language Film)—is a hushed, interior drama about a servant girl named Mui who, in 1951 at age 10, enters a troubled household.

In an omission that might be considered in itself a bold political act, the war never clouds Tran Anh Hung's delicate vision of a lost world—except for the occasional ominous hum of an airplane flying overhead, which becomes the unmistakable whoosh of military jets when the scene shifts forward to 1961.

Tran's film—as delicate and luminous as the mosquito netting that gently sways around Mui's moonlit bed—is instead about smaller epiphanies, the life that passes unobserved by

most people: the beautiful throb of the pulse in a little girl's neck as she kneels to watch ants on the edge of a cooking fire; a drop of milky white papaya sap on a moist green leaf; little toads crouching on a tile floor in the evening shadows.

Young Mui (exquisitely played by Lu Man San) takes notice, while the household around her proceeds on its often sad way. The tranquil order of the family routine gradually parts to reveal a faithless husband, cruel children, a harsh elder, the threat of impoverishment.

The Scent of Green Papaya was shot in France because the director could not find in Saigon the past of his memories. It is an almost painfully beautiful and simple film, until the scene shifts forward 10 years to 1961, and it becomes apparent that Tran's view of Mui is not so much transcendent as it is nostalgic for tradition. A grown woman now (played by Tran Nu Yen-Khe), Mui is sent to serve in the home of a family friend, Khuyen, a young bachelor for whom she harbors a lifelong secret crush.

Mui is the "perfect woman"—silent, industrious, happy with her lot. It is only clear that she is offered up to us as this paragon of femininity after her rival arrives. Khuyen's fiancée—dressed and coiffed in Western style, assertive, sexually forward—is clearly untraditional. A whirling bundle of unbecoming energy, she can't hold his attention long, once Mui's buddha-like stillness floats clearly into his field of vision.

By this time Mui has won over the audience too, so that we may not notice the setup, but setup it is. The secret love story that happens between Mui and Khuyen in the quiet moments still carries a charge, but one diminished by its anti-feminist sentiment.

Despite its ideologically trite conclusion, *The Scent of Green Papaya* displays a sense of wonder about the everyday that lends an unaccustomed air of gravity to the ordinary tasks of life, to the work usually done, unnoticed, by women: dusting, scrubbing a floor, cooking, simply tending to another human being's needs.

Lillian is another film about these small but vital

Two new films focus on the details of women's home lives.

By Pat Dowell



The Scent of Green Papaya

The Scent of Green Papaya
Directed by
Tran Anh Hung

Lillian
Directed by
David Williams



know on the subject of selfless love.

During Lillian's fictional day she offers a stolid rebuke to her own grown daughter about the granddaughter left to her care. She also fends off a pushy real estate agent working for her fictional landlord, a friendly young white man who needs to sell the property. (Director Williams, her landlord off-screen, didn't do that to her; the scene is based on an incident in her past.) These dramatized additions to Lillian's life threaten to push the movie over into melodrama, but they never quite do.

Filmmaker David Williams instead lingers wisely on the details of the home Lillian has made, a very modest place that seems alive with—what to call it?—goodness. The camera settles on fading photographs, gewgaws reverently placed on dark wood shelves, faces in the twilight of heavily curtained windows, and most importantly

events. It too celebrates a nurturing woman, but one whose beauty depends far less on passivity and submissiveness. Like *The Scent of Green Papaya*, *Lillian* is a movie in which nothing much happens—except for everything, except for life itself. Tending for others is the vigorous vocation of Lillian Folley, a sixtyish African-American who is the star of a fictionalized movie account of a day in her life.

This curiously effective hybrid of documentary and fiction was scripted by director David Williams, who got to know Lillian as her neighbor (and landlord of her house, which he still is). He then cast the roles around Lillian Folley with actors and non-professional performers who were encouraged to improvise their dialogue. A month of rehearsals preceded shooting.

The minimalist movie that results has unvarnished poetry in it and a glow of something like grace, flowing, one suspects, from Lillian Folley in real life as well as on the screen. A solid, serene, unyielding presence, she walks, never runs, through her crowded old house in Richmond, Va.

She deals with the emotional needs of the foster children she takes in, feeds and comforts the elderly people who board with her. She talks about ghosts, and whether men really went to the moon, as well as what to fix for supper. One image of her lying down across a bed as she gives a new foster baby his first nap at home, welcoming him with kind words and gentle strokes, says just about all there is to

on Lillian's own rich mahogany moon of a face. Her voice is deep and placid; her narration pours over the story like balm.

At the beginning of *Lillian*, we hear her say, "I don't want to be remembered as nothing but who I am and what I am." By the end of the movie the humility of those words and the foundation of unshakable moral authority on which they rest seem like a revelation.

People like Lillian keep the world going, while others flail around with the trivialities of fame and fortune. Every once in a while we get a good reminder of priorities, and that's exactly what this film provides.

Very modestly shot and composed, *Lillian* reaffirms the primacy of a filmmaker's vision over mere technological resources. (Unfortunately, the film has not yet found a distributor.) The best directors have the simple gift of knowing a great subject when they see one. Lillian Folley, who eclipses the black mammy stereotype and reclaims the power within it, is just such a subject. Where *The Scent of Green Papaya* finds beauty in a woman's subjection to others, *Lillian* portrays a woman whose life of service is transcendent act of will. ◀

As of now *Lillian* is being distributed by David Williams and his brother Shep, the film's composer. If you want more information on where you might see it, call Shep Williams at 202-857-0877.

I N P R I N T

Weekend warriors

By David Futrelle

When voters turned to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 election, it reflected something other than a purely political choice—it represented a repudiation of the “softness” of Jimmy Carter, who guiltily admitted his lusts as a kind of sin, who spoke openly of his doubts and hesitations. Reagan embodied an old-style masculinity; periodically replenishing his energy riding horses and chopping wood on his ranch, he seemed a man’s man in a man’s world.

During the ’80s, no sin was quite as awful as softness. Anxious yuppies filled increasingly fashionable health clubs (and the pocketbooks of exercise gurus) in an attempt to mold their own flesh to fit a new hard-body ideal. A slew of popular films—from *Rambo* to *Robocop*—glorified an almost cartoonish hypermasculinity, transforming a “former Mr. Universe [Arnold Schwarzenegger] into the biggest box-office draw of the decade,” as Susan Jeffords notes in *Hard Bodies*, which traces the rise of the new Hollywood masculinity in the decade of the ’80s.

This new machismo was exemplified above all by Sylvester Stallone’s John Rambo, a musclebound rescuer (at least in the realm of imagination and special effects) both of POWs and of America’s ravaged glory, the mythic hero par excellence of our popular masculine imagination. It was no coincidence that the war hero Rambo appeared in theaters at the same time as the movie star Ronald Reagan appeared in the White House. Both Reagan and Rambo emerged as symbolic solutions to America’s post-Vietnam crisis of masculine identity.

Stallone’s “Iron John” was more representative of the real “men’s movement” of these years than Robert Bly’s fairy-tale *Urbemensch* would be some years later. Despite

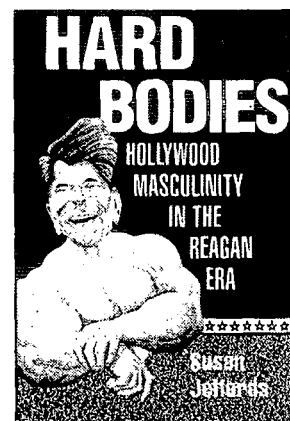
the media hoopla of recent times, few men have actually attempted to reassert their masculinity by tromping off into the woods on wild-man weekends with Jungian poets. But, as James William Gibson argues in *Warrior Dreams*, over the past decade and a half a new and remarkably popular kind of men’s movement has seeped deep into American culture—a mythic world of masculine empowerment, filled with its own strange rituals and initiation rites, promising anxious men a kind of personal regeneration through fantasies of violence.

Gibson, the author of the highly regarded *The Perfect War*, an examination of “technowar in Vietnam,” delves into the mythic narratives of “New War” novels such as *The P.O.W. Escape* and *Casca: The Eternal Mercenary*—the latter written by none other than Barry Sadler, the composer of the legendary “Ballad of the Green Beret”—in which extreme graphic violence becomes, in its extravagant, slow-motion physicality, a new kind of pornography. He ventures to the playgrounds of the paintball warriors, and to the masculinist Disneyland that is the annual *Soldier of Fortune* convention. He explores the minds of those on America’s neo-Nazi fringe, who see in their paramilitary fantasies the possibility of a cleansing racial war.

Many critics have been too quick to dismiss this culture as little more than a déclassé hobby indulged in by unbalanced Vietnam vets and paramilitary wannabes. But, as Gibson shows, the world of this New War offers a ritualized redemption, a compelling feeling of comradeship, which plays deeply into widespread masculine anxieties. In one of his most interesting chapters, Gibson recounts his own experience as a student at Gunsite Ranch, an Arizona firearms training institute. Plunging into an intense (and carefully ritualized) week-long course of all-day firearm training, Gibson found himself drawn into a kind of trance.

“The instructors at Gunsite were highly competent teachers who knew what they were doing,” Gibson reports. “They were leading at least a part of the class into what some athletes call ‘the zone,’ a state of altered sensory perception.”

After the glory days of the warrior culture in



Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era
By Susan Jeffords
Rutgers University Press
212 pp., \$14.95

Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America
By James William Gibson
Hill and Wang
357 pp., \$23

the Reagan/Bush era of the '80s and early '90s, the appeal of paramilitary fantasies seems to be once again on the wane. Just as Ronald Reagan's image has undergone a retroactive re-examination in recent years, so the image of the hard body has itself changed—moving from the hypermasculinity of Stallone's *Rambo* to the "kinder and gentler" Arnold Schwarzenegger of *Kindergarten Cop*.

The shift in film imagery, as Jeffords suggests, paralleled the shift in political symbolism that accompanied the slow decay of Reaganite glory during the reign of Bush. Unlike Reagan, who was comfortable with his masculine self-image, Bush always seemed uncertain, insecure—he seemed to be doing an impersonation of a man. Comedian Dana Carvey discovered that to imitate Bush he simply needed to graft the voice and mannerisms of John Wayne onto the character of Mr. Rogers. The real Bush seemed an equally artificial construct, a man who wore his masculinity like an ill-fitting suit of body armor. Bill Clinton doesn't even pretend: his version of masculinity (while much more natural than Bush's) is in many ways as "soft" as Carter's.

Jeffords ends her book with a discussion of Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven*, the most elaborate attempt by a Hollywood insider to offer a critique of the ideal of "self-promoting machismo" that he had helped to create. In the film, a "reformed" Western hero (played by a greying Eastwood) comes out of retirement to track down two men who have viciously slashed a young prostitute's face. Out of practice and out of shape, he has trouble even mounting his horse, and needs a good deal of target practice to shoot straight. But even this film ends with an extravagant orgy of violence, with Eastwood's William Munny cutting down his enemies

in a hail of carefully directed bullets. (Clearly, his shooting practice paid off.)

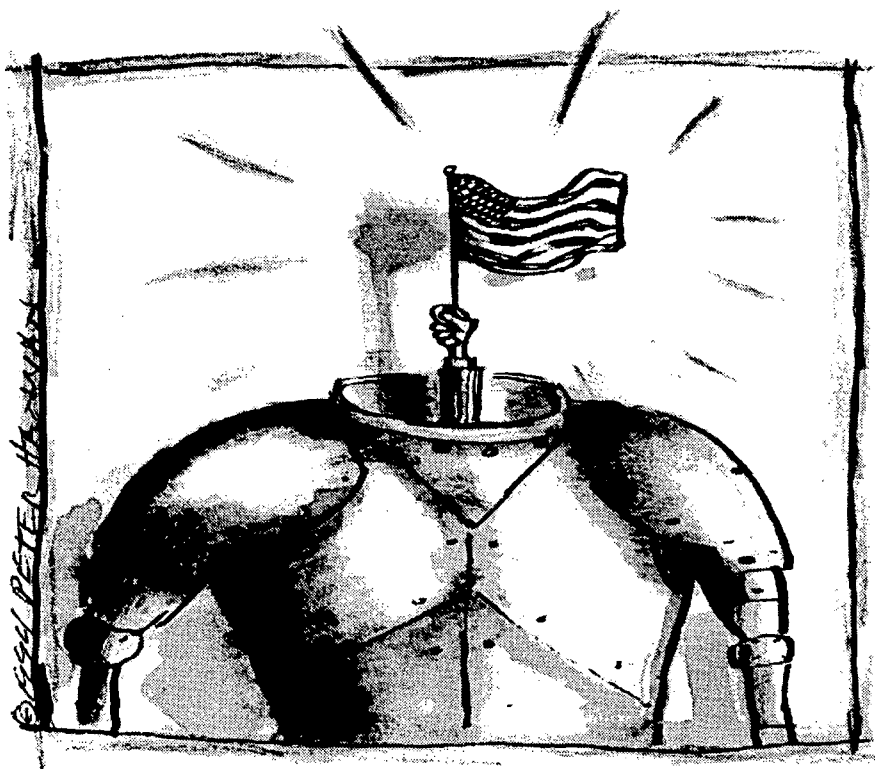
And so it is not altogether surprising that Jeffords is suspicious of the new models of "kinder, gentler" masculinity. Only partially transcending the earlier versions of masculinity that they "appear to critique, at times even to reject," the New Men of *Unforgiven* and other such movies are still "dangerous models, not only because they depend on the kind of nationalism and militarism that brought the country to military actions in Panama, Grenada and the Persian Gulf but also because they seem now to represent the desperation of an aging superpower that is reluctant ... to relinquish status and influence and may ... be willing to punish harshly those who insist it do so."

It's an intriguing notion, to be sure. But Jeffords hardly proves her case, failing to make the convincing connections between Hollywood imagery and Washington politics that her argument demands. Jeffords is so determined to prove her various theses that she flattens the texture of the films she examines, ignoring their subtle idiosyncrasies in an attempt to press them into service as supports for her own grander assertions.

Gibson, for his part, offers a more convincing explanation for the lingering appeal of the hard-body Rambo ideal. The mystique of the New War culture will remain, he argues, so long as its rituals offer men one of the few real ways to assert (at least symbolically) the kind of masculine mastery denied them in a culture dominated by unseen powers (corporations, government, the corporate media) and in which few have any real control over their own lives.

It won't do to simply invent new masculine rituals to fill this void. The earnest artificiality of Bly's wildmen weekends is no more a solution to the dilemma than the ritual violence of *Robocop* and *Rambo*. But something in the masculine character must change, and change profoundly, if we are to ever get beyond war as a way of life. "The warrior as we know him can never break the sword or the chains of war; without war, he would not know who he was or what the world was about," Gibson concludes. "But a different kind of man might. To do so, he would not have to renounce the pleasure of physical power and the risks of danger, or avoid the comradeship of male groups, but instead find ways to use them to grow, rather than regress."

As Jeffords' critique of *Unforgiven* suggests, this won't be easy. But change need not be seen by men as a kind of loss. "Transforming warrior culture," Gibson suggests, "is not about men becoming something less than they are, but rather, something more." ◀



The Recession era

By David Evans



There is a depression out there, beyond the 10 square miles of our nation's capital. How is this possible, given all the recent news reports of an American economy bouncing back? If we are measuring the economy in terms of the gross national product (GNP), for example, then if GNP is growing, things must be getting better.

But even as the business magazines track the GNP, the gap between rich and poor continues to grow. The nation seems to be evolving into a larger version of England, a country described by *Washington Post* reporter Henry Allen as "a theme park with riots." As economist Wallace Peterson observes in *Silent Depression*, "The paradox is that, three centuries after America's colonial beginnings, wealth and income are more unequally distributed in the 'New World' than in most of the nations of Europe." Peterson notes that the top 1 percent of Americans own 37 percent of the country's financial wealth, a striking repeat of the concentration of wealth in 1929.

In *Silent Depression*, Peterson takes on the conventional wisdom, arguing that continued application of mainstream economic palliatives could lead to a parched economy. The country's current depression is a "silent" one, Peterson points out, because the federal government does not measure recessions or depressions by variations in the unemployment rate or per capita income. Rather, the rate of increase or decrease in industrial output from one quarter to the next is the dominant measure; a recession exists if output slumps for two consecutive quarters. There is no definition for a depression. Suffice it to say, we could find ourselves in a situation where both the economy and the unemployment rolls were expanding.

In truth, if the size of the working population is increasing, as is America's, and if individual worker productivity is rising, then fewer workers will be needed to produce jetliners, locomotives and furniture. Productivity is the enemy of jobs growth. Peterson does not put the relationship into such stark terms, but this is the conclusion one can easily

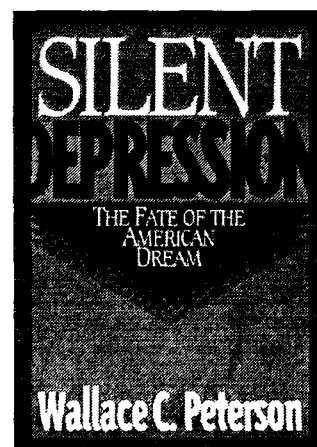
draw from the disturbing trends outlined in his book. Look no further than the U.S. auto industry. According to many experts, American auto manufacturers are now (after years of cost-cutting) fearsomely competitive, on a par with Japan's industrial samurai. But America's automakers achieved this newfound competitiveness by heaving about half a million workers over the side.

Indeed, the newspapers that report these decimations of the workforce may be part of the reason this "silent depression" is occurring under our noses, virtually unnoticed. The business sections of America's great newspapers are written for capitalists, not for workers. One can easily find daily stock indexes spelled out to the second decimal point, but other measures relevant to the workforce, such as job creation and job stability, are notably absent.

Peterson suggests a few different measures of economic performance. Real average weekly wages, for instance, should be tracked and publicized widely, since they have been declining since 1973 (the beginning of Peterson's silent depression). The purchasing power of the average worker's income also bears tracking, in terms of the number of hours of work it takes to buy a shirt, a tank of gas or a steak.

This book should embarrass the Clinton administration, whose plans to revise America's erratic economy seem positively tepid and tentative compared to the sweeping boldness of Peterson's proposals.

An unrepentant Keynesian economist who believes that government can both stimulate and "shape" the economy for the betterment of the masses, Peterson suggests that we create a National Development Bank to channel money that went to the Pentagon during the Cold War to the pressing task of rebuilding America's decaying, crumbling infrastructure. By some estimates, the back-



Silent Depression: The Fate of the American Dream
By Wallace C. Peterson
W.W. Norton
317 pp., \$25

log of unrepaired sewer and water systems, bridges, highways and other public works that need refurbishment totals some \$1 trillion. Washington, D.C., may be the capital of the First World, but it has Third World-quality streets.

Peterson suggests that this new development bank could funnel up to \$100 billion a year to local governments, which could then undertake—quite literally—the rebuilding of America's public works. Cuts to the Pentagon budget, which Clinton significantly eschewed in his recent budget, would provide the start-up capital for this program. Further funds could be raised, Peterson suggests, by issuing investment-rated bonds, whereby the bank could tap into America's \$3 trillion worth of private and public pension funds.

America also needs to increase its exports of manufactured goods. An acquaintance of mine, an executive in one of America's largest shipping firms, noted recently that America is looking more like a colony, exporting agricultural foodstuffs and raw materials while importing ever-greater quantities of high value-added manufacturing goods.

A massive lend-lease program, by which American industry would be encouraged to export the machine tools and other goods the former communist bloc nations need to rebuild their collapsed economies, would also provide a huge boost to America's manufacturing industry. Peterson credits the idea for this program to retired Chicago businessman Warren Brockmeir, who envisions a \$100-billion-a-year program for about five years. Indeed, if half a trillion dollars' worth of manufactured exports won't help restore America's disappearing manufacturing economy, nothing will. Read Peterson's book for the financing details.

Peterson also advocates a flat-rate income tax, one that would require no more than a postcard-size form to submit and which could retain the progressive nature of the current system by adjusting the size of the personal exemption. For example, with an exemption of \$15,000 each, a married couple earning \$30,000 would pay no taxes.

More money would be put in the hands of consumers, increasing spendable income, and the flat-rate system would raise tens of billions of additional dollars for the government, putting a sizable dent in the federal deficit. Such a flat-rate tax would help stem the decline in weekly income that Peterson has plotted since 1973.

Peterson's proposals might not arrest the growing bifurcation of American society into the wealthy living behind the high walls of the new "fortress architecture" and the bitter masses living on the edge—but they are a start.

The 1992 riot in Los Angeles suggests that those suffering Peterson's silent depression won't be silent forever. In this regard, his proposals appear far less radical than the explosive social consequences of the present course, in which the Clintonites seem to be wavering down a narrow path where the options are bounded by feel-good sophistry on the one side and programmatic tokenism on the other. ◀

David Evans, a former military affairs correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, is a freelance journalist in the Washington, D.C. area.



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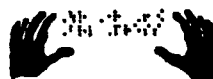
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Continued from page 40

Over the years, he has wasted much of his energy cutting questionable deals that have benefited very few of his constituents. In 1983, for example, he lobbied aggressively to secure a \$159 million HUD loan for a development group run by a former business partner. That group used the money to construct Presidential Towers, a set of yuppie-oriented high-rises that destroyed a large swath of low-income housing. The developers later defaulted on the loan.

Stories like that were not unfamiliar to the politicians who fought the old Chicago machine. In *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*, Congressman Mikva had more than one good story to tell. Recalling the flaws of Democrats with an unhealthy and exaggerated appreciation of power, Mikva said, "My quarrel is that they never had any ideology. They would deliver services—good, bad or indifferent—and use them to elect an Adolf Hitler if he was on the Democratic ticket."

Of course, the machine had its good points. It wasn't merely an electoral apparatus; it was a year-round operation that often provided decent services to ordinary citizens. The foot soldiers who ran the precinct organizations lived in the neighborhoods in which they worked. And while the old machine never worked as well as its defenders claim, it was an undeniably effective mechanism for conveying the concerns of constituents to the politicians who represented them.

The "machine" now operating in Washington functions according to much the same principles. Unfortunately, its foot soldiers collect six-figure salaries and represent the interests of constituents who are anything but ordinary.

Despite all the talk you'll hear in November about the old-line Chicago pols who returned Rostenkowski to Congress, it is the national "machine" that will have re-elected Dan Rostenkowski. And nothing will have happened in Chicago that doesn't occur in every other U.S. congressional district.

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"We don't want nobody nobody sent"

By Jim McNeill

In his famous oral history of Chicago's Democratic machine, *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*, professor Milton Rakove took his title from a story told by Abner Mikva, the liberal congressman whose uneasy relationship with the machine began early in his career.

During Adlai Stevenson's run for governor in 1948, Mikva, an idealistic law student at the University of Chicago, walked into the offices of the 8th Ward Regular Democratic Organization and told the ward committeeman that he wanted to join the campaign.

"Who sent you?" the committeeman asked Mikva.

"Nobody," he replied.

The committeeman, cigar clenched firmly between his teeth, told Mikva, "We don't want nobody nobody sent."

It was hard not to be reminded of Mikva's story as the soon-to-be-indicted Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) rolled to victory in the March 15 primary race here. During his campaign, the scandal-ridden Rostenkowski relied heavily on the logic of Chicago's old machine. Never denying that Rostenkowski might have made some "mistakes" at the House Post Office, the handlers of the 18-term incumbent simply asserted that Rosty, as chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, was too powerful for the voters to remove from office.

In the aftermath of Rosty's strong showing—he won the five-way race with more than 50 percent of the vote—reporters nostalgically compared his primary effort to the classic campaigns of Chicago's first Mayor Daley. The *New York Times* pointed respectfully to the 600 campaign workers Rostenkowski put on the streets for the primary. The *Chicago Tribune* claimed that Rosty had deployed 800 election-day workers, and—to prove it was an old-style machine effort—the paper quoted Park District employees and Sewer Department workers who had pounded the pavement for Rosty.

With virtually every reporter focusing on the archaic qualities of the campaign, the general consensus seemed to be that this primary revealed more about America's political past than it did about the country's political present or future.

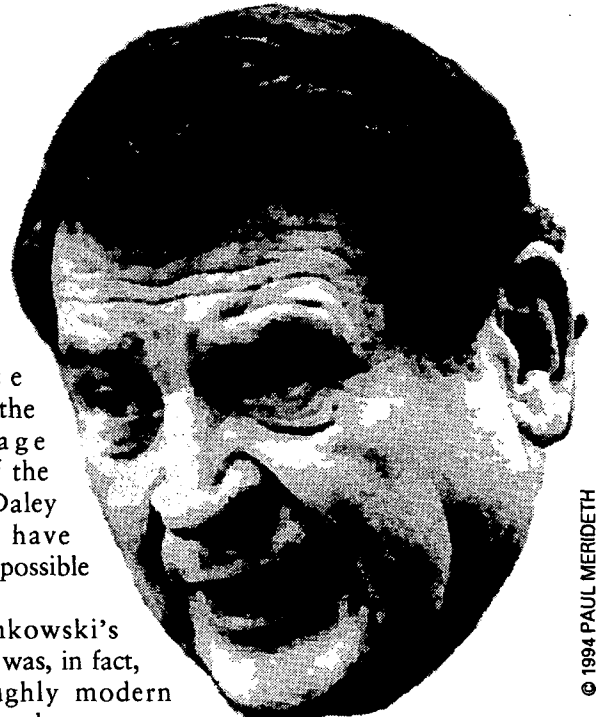
But it wasn't the remnants of Chicago's machine that ensured Rostenkowski's primary victory. Over the last 20 years, many of Illinois' most notorious election laws have been modernized

and, thanks to various civil service reforms, the patronage armies of the original Daley machine have proved impossible to sustain.

Rostenkowski's campaign was, in fact, a thoroughly modern affair, dependent on money collected from national PACs, and triumphant because the incumbent possessed an overwhelming advantage in TV advertising. The supportive calls from President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, the campaign appearances by House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt and former vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro: all suggest that the values of Chicago's dilapidated machine are well understood in Washington.

Of course, it's no feat of political reporting to note that clout is an important currency in Washington. It is, unfortunately, somewhat unusual to question what this "clout" can actually accomplish. For all of Rostenkowski's legendary influence, his district has suffered through the same industrial decline that has afflicted most of urban America.

Continued on page 39



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